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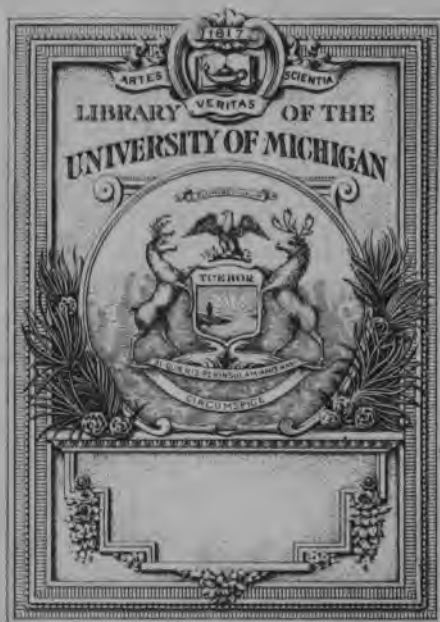
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ESSAYS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

DEDICATED TO
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER



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1910

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THESE ESSAYS ARE DEDICATED BY THE AUTHORS, HIS
FORMER PUPILS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN,

TO

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER

ON THE OCCASION OF HIS PRESIDENCY OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,

1909—1910

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INTRODUCTION

SPONTANEOUS movements are hard to explain. Perhaps they need no explanation. Certainly a volume of essays on American history which in a large sense has written itself out of the love and respect of the authors for the scholar and friend to whom it is dedicated, needs but little by way of introduction to this generation of American students of history. To all others it preserves and transmits, by its very existence, that part of a scholar's work which is hardest to measure and record—his power to kindle his spirit and his love of scholarship in other men. Beyond the measure usually allotted to men of his own rank in scholarship and productive power, Professor Turner has manifested this most precious gift of the gods to the teachers of men. The office of president of the American Historical Association is a recognition by the larger constituency of American scholars in his chosen field of the permanent contributions of Professor Turner to the literature of that discipline. It has seemed to the narrower circle of those who, as students, have felt the stimulation of his personality, who have tasted at first hand of the fruits of his learning, and under his guidance have learned the methods of the craft, that there could be no more proper occasion than his presidency of this society and no more fitting form than this volume for acknowledging their obligations to him in whose workshop they learned the methods by which historical truth is sought.

Speaking for the many students of Professor Turner who are now interested in fields allied to history or in historical work other than American, and by reason of a self-denying ordinance are not contributors to this

volume, the editor takes this occasion to acknowledge on behalf of the represented to those who represent, their appreciation of the zeal and thoroughness with which the contributors have done their work in the short time assigned them. They have made the volume possible and have reduced editorial work to the minimum. A like word should be said for the publishers and for the many friends of Professor Turner whose advice and assistance have helped to give form to this volume.

In their special fields these essays, it seems to one whose pleasure it was to be their first reader, are each a permanent contribution either in substance, point of view, or interpretation, to the literature of American history. If this is in a measurable degree the judgment of less prejudiced readers, then they will be, in full measure, such a tribute as his former students would offer to Frederick Jackson Turner, teacher, scholar, and friend.

GUY STANTON FORD.

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ESSAYS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

SOME ACTIVITIES OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI ¹

THREE institutions have been characteristic of the New England settler, wherever he has made his home,—the Congregational Church, the public school or the academy with its culminating point in the Congregational college, and the town-meeting. The first of these institutions had its inception in what might be called a second "Protestant Revolt," since it grew up as the expression of a widespread demand for more liberty in creed and ritual than an increasingly conservative established church of England permitted. Born in England, the Congregational Church grew to its full stature on New England soil, uncramped by the swaddling bands of an ecclesiastical and political system which viewed conformity and uniformity as necessities of the body politic, and variation from the type of either as anarchy and ruin. Founded upon a Calvinistic basis, the sermon the center of the service, an educated ministry speaking to an educated people was a necessity of the existence and of the growth of the Congregational Church. Hence the public school became an indispensable accompaniment of that church, thus providing that enlightened constituency which could alone

¹ See also Mathews, L. K., *The Expansion of New England* (Boston, 1909). The material for this essay was obtained in the Congregational Library, housed in the Congregational House of Boston. There is a large mass of correspondence which must be investigated at the headquarters of the American Home Missionary Society in New York City, as well as similar material in the headquarters of missionary organizations of other denominations, especially the Presbyterian, before the study can be completed.

maintain its principles and hold fast to an unwavering conviction of the truth of its dogmas. Beyond the school must come the college, which should provide the additional training for the educated man who was not only to minister to each of these groups of people, but also to convince those outside his field, whether of his own race or some other, of the rightness of that creed in which he himself so fervently and profoundly believed. Among such a people, with such a ministry, democracy was the only tenable political theory and practice; and out of a conviction of its necessity and the right of possessing it, together with the accident, as it were, of remoteness and isolation from a larger body politic, developed its expression in the town-meeting. Though these three institutions are found in their original form only in New England itself, their variations have been in a way immaterial in the face of the fact that their fundamental principles have been repeatedly used in new communities, though the superstructure erected upon these foundations has been no exact copy of the original form. Indeed, a superficial glance perceives no vital connection between local government in the Rocky Mountain states and that in Massachusetts; or between a state university of the Mississippi Valley and the denominational college such as Yale or Wellesley originally was. But although the more obvious characteristics may have been well-nigh obliterated in making the newer institution fit more plastic communities and ideals which may be broader but are certainly less definite, the type viewed in the large is the same. The Congregational college, for example, ceases to fit men almost exclusively for the ministry or the missionary field, and sends out both men and women to take a prominent place in their communities as Christian citizens. It ceases to call itself sectarian if it may thereby increase its constituency and spread its influence farther. It may be turned over by its trustees

to the state for a university supported by legislative appropriation. It may decide that in order to share the advantages of a pension fund which will provide its poorly paid faculty with dignified poverty in their old age, it can dispense with its essentially sectarian views as to the church affiliations of its trustees, president, and faculty, and proclaim itself broadly Christian and not at all denominational. In spite of all these changes or any of them, its New England origin remains, and it is with this New England origin of church and school that the present study concerns itself.

All through the colonial period the missionary spirit of the Congregational Church had expressed itself in founding towns, churches, and schools. Just before the Revolution, in 1774, the Congregational churches of Connecticut, in their General Association, voted to send missionaries to the latest settlements in Vermont and New York, whither Connecticut pioneers had been thronging.² But the stirring events of the next quarter-century prevented any large contributions of either money or men to the movement. It was only when the Revolutionary War had become a matter of past history, when the new national government had been set upon its feet, and when the peril from foreign aggression had apparently been overcome, that the missionary spirit was born anew. Stayed only temporarily by the conflict between the colonies and the mother-country, the tide of emigration to the frontier had flowed out in unprecedentedly great floods after 1783. Into the western parts of Massachusetts and Connecticut, into the three northern New England states, into central and western New York and Pennsylvania, into the Appalachian valleys, into the back-country of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, and over into the new Northwest and

² Walker, Williston, *A History of the Congregational Church in the United States*, pp. 311, 312.

Southwest Territories,—in every direction the outposts of civilization were advanced far beyond the frontiers of 1775. Settlers went singly, in families, and in colonies. The differentiation between seaboard and back-country had meantime become clearly marked; and the new governments, both state and federal, had concerned themselves largely with questions of adjustment of representation and taxation, and with internal improvements in the matter of roads, bridges, ferries, and even canals. Yet the back-country often felt itself misunderstood and unappreciated, and pleaded its poverty as an excuse and a cause for the discontent it loudly voiced. On the other hand, to the older communities the rural districts seemed rude and uncivilized, uneducated and godless; and out of this poverty on the one hand, and comparative plenty on the other, was born anew the missionary spirit which had stirred New England since the beginning. This time it was directed, not alone toward the education and conversion of the Indian, but toward the education and conversion of their own brethren on the frontier, where scarcity of money, coupled with a declining sense of their necessity, had delayed the formation of schools and churches, and thus retarded the development of that peculiar kind of Christian civilization which the older parts of New England had developed. The movement found expression almost simultaneously all over New England, though Connecticut in 1798 led the way. In that year the General Association of Congregational Churches in that state organized itself as a Missionary Society, "to Christianize the Heathen in North America, and to support and promote Christian knowledge in the new settlements within the United States."³ To stimulate interest in these home missions an official organ, known as the *Con-*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 312. It concerned itself less with the conversion of the Indian and more with the new settlements.

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necticut Evangelical Magazine, was established in 1800, and in 1802 the society received a charter from the Connecticut legislature.⁴ A similar society, known as the Congregational Missionary Society in the Counties of Berkshire and Columbia, had in 1798 been formed to take care of poor churches in western Massachusetts and eastern New York. In 1799 the Massachusetts Missionary Society was founded on the same lines as that in Connecticut, and four years later established its *Massachusetts Missionary Magazine*.⁵ Then followed similar societies in New Hampshire (1801), Maine (1807), and Vermont (1807), but these confined their work almost wholly to the large opportunity which lay at their hand in their own newer communities.⁶ So great was the zeal for the work that other local societies were formed outside the large state ones;—as the one in 1802 in Hampshire County of Massachusetts, the Piscataqua Missionary Society of eastern New Hampshire (1804), and the Evangelical Missionary Society of Worcester and Middlesex counties of Massachusetts (1807).⁷ Some of these organizations sent missionaries as far west as New York and Ohio, besides helping weak churches near home. These were the beginnings of the home missionary movement of the Congregational Church. The great work done east of the Mississippi River must, however, be passed over in order to trace a few phases of its labors beyond that great artery.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

⁶ Clark, J. B., *Leavening the Nation*, p. 31. Missionary societies made up exclusively of women had their inception in these years. The Boston Female Society for Missionary Purposes, the Female Cent Institution of New Hampshire (1804), by which its members pledged a cent a week for missions; and many other "cent associations" all through New England were pioneer societies. See Walker, p. 313.

⁷ *Ibid.*

With the acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 enormous tracts of land with few or no inhabitants save native Indians were added to the territory of the United States. The area of settled territory consisted of a few towns, scarcely more than trading-posts, scattered up the west bank of the Mississippi with long distances between them, or lying a few miles from the mouths of the larger tributaries of that river. The settlers were for the most part French, though there were here and there such wanderers as Moses Austin, a native of Durham, Connecticut, who had gone in 1799 to the region which became Missouri. The expeditions of Lewis and Clark, and of Pike, made better known the possibilities of the newly acquired region, and settlers from those states and territories bordering on the Mississippi began to make their way to the trading-posts and settlements already in existence. Soon the missionaries who were laboring to build up churches in Illinois and the neighboring states made tours of investigation across the river, while the home missionary societies in New England sometimes sent special messengers to bring back reports of the number of settlers and their needs. The Missionary Societies of Connecticut and Massachusetts together sent Rev. Samuel J. Mills and Rev. John F. Schermerhorn on a tour which occupied the years 1812 and 1813, and covered a long strip of territory lying along the western bank of the Mississippi. They reported that the settlements in Missouri were scattered, confined almost wholly to the banks of rivers, and contained perhaps 20,000 souls, of whom two-fifths were Americans, the rest French. They found a few Baptists, a few Methodist preachers, and a hundred or more families which had been Congregationalists or Presbyterians, many of them Connecticut-born.⁸ Moses Austin's colony was then at Mine au Breton, near the present town of

⁸ *Report of Rev. John F. Schermerhorn*, pp. 32, 33.

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Potosi (Missouri), and Mr. Austin himself sent for Mr. Mills to preach in the settlement. Other pioneer missionaries of these early days were Rev. Salmon Giddings, whose work was done from 1815 to 1827 in Missouri; Rev. Elias Cornelius, Jr., in 1817-1818 in Louisiana;* Rev. H. Hull, in 1819-1820 in Louisiana; Rev. John Matthews, in 1819-1823 in Missouri; and Rev. Timothy Flint, whose experiences from 1815 to 1818 in Ohio and Missouri he detailed at length in his *Recollections*.¹⁰ One of the most faithful workers was Rev. C. S. Robinson, born in 1791 in Granville, Massachusetts, a graduate of Williams College and of Andover Theological Seminary, who went to St. Charles (Missouri) as a missionary and preached there until his death.¹¹ Rev. Salmon Giddings, mentioned above, in 1817 gathered nine families (including five from Massachusetts and one from Connecticut) into the first Presbyterian church in St. Louis.¹²

* See Edwards, B. B., *Memoir of the Rev. Elias Cornelius* (2d edition, 1834), especially pp. 95-104, 108, 109. He paved the way for the founding of the first Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, though he was a Congregationalist.

¹⁰ All these were sent out by the Missionary Society of Connecticut. A complete list of their missionaries from the founding of the society till its union with the American Home Missionary Society in 1880, is given in the *Annual Report of the Directors of the Missionary Society of Connecticut* (1880). Many of these reports consist so largely of financial statistics that they have little value for historical purposes. For Rev. Timothy Flint, see his *Recollections of the Last Ten Years in the Mississippi Valley*, and his *History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley*.

¹¹ See "Memoir of Rev. C. S. Robinson" in *The American Pastor's Journal*, 1 Sept., 1829.

¹² Roy, J. E., "Congregationalism in the Northwest," in Dunning, A. E., *Congregationalism in America*, p. 425. This is but one of many instances where Presbyterian churches were made up of a Congregational pastor and members. The one Connecticut family in Rev. Salmon Giddings' church mentioned in the text was that of the parents of Stephen Hempstead, second governor of the State of Iowa. See Roy, J. E., as above, and Shambaugh, B., *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, I., p. 423.

But the tide of emigration between 1800 and 1840 was flowing most strongly into the sections known earlier as the "Northwest Territory" and the "Southwest Territory." Moreover, it proceeded for the most part along the parallels of latitude running out from the most densely populated of the older states, though all streams mingled and crossed one another on both sides of the Ohio River.¹³ Missionary effort would naturally be directed in large measure to those quarters where the opportunity seemed greatest; by far the greater part of money and men was used east of the Mississippi. The Missouri compromise diverted the streams of pioneers from the southern states to the lands across the Mississippi and south of Iowa; but even there the population was still concentrated for the most part along the rivers, nor had it as yet proceeded far inland. It was still an unsettled, shifting population also; the colony which Rev. S. J. Mills had found at Mine au Breton had moved in 1819 to Texas, and had begun its dramatic life there. That the Congregational Church made little history in the far west until after 1830 is attributable not only to the conditions controlling emigration from New England and New York as a whole, but to two other important factors:—in the north, the church had become in the newer parts of the country in large measure absorbed by the Presbyterian Church through the "Plan of Union"; in the south it was unpopular, because of its strong antipathy to slavery. About 1822 a keen realization of these facts, together with the menace of the rising Unitarian agitation, led to new activity on the part of the Congregational Church both in and out of New England.¹⁴ The founding in 1826 of the American Home

¹³ See maps of New England settlement in Mathews, L. K., *Expansion of New England*.

¹⁴ Professor Walker's view is that this denominational awakening came first in the West, where the Presbyterian Church had grown very strong,

Missionary Society, a general organization of the whole church, was significant of this new vigor; while it did not in any sense supersede the state organizations, it attempted to work on a larger scale and to unify all missionary effort.

One of the most interesting and important manifestations of this "denominational awakening" was a movement for "lay emigration," as it was called. Rev. Asa Turner, the father of Congregational home missions in Iowa, felt strongly the need of Christian laymen on the frontier. Born in Templeton, Massachusetts, of "migratory stock,"¹⁵ he was educated at Amherst Academy, Yale College, and Yale Theological Seminary. Before he left New England to begin his first Illinois pastorate at Quincy, he urged that groups of families should accompany home missionaries to their new fields, to help in church, public school, and Sunday school, "fixing the character of towns, . . . spreading the moral power of New England, and effectually aiding to save the West."¹⁶ He wrote to a friend in 1830: "It is of vast importance to settle a minister in each county as soon as possible. . . . This is the object: to place one missionary in every county, and six or eight pious families . . . without any loss to New England. . . . I mean to bring on a colony with me."¹⁷ And he did take about twenty people west with him in 1833. Rev. Aratus Kent, a missionary in the lead-mining region about Galena, Illinois, had the same idea. He, too, wrote in 1830: "A half dozen families of the right stamp, in company with the missionary, in many cases would render his labors doubly efficient. . . . Every new missionary then should have his little colony selected to accompany

and later in New England. If this is true, it is like many other frontier movements which have reacted upon an older, less volatile, and more complacent community.

¹⁵ Magoun, G. F., *Asa Turner and His Times*, p. 16.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

¹⁷ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 117.

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already they dreamed of a college. Davenport secured a better location for the latter, and in 1848 Iowa College, a Congregational outpost of higher education, was established there.²³

From this transplanted New England colony sprang the great work of the Congregational Church in Iowa. In the spring of 1843 there was read to students of Andover Theological Seminary a letter from Deacon Houston of Denmark, urging that ministers be sent to the frontier. Then followed the formation of that group of Andover men known as "The Iowa Band," pledged to home missionary work in Iowa Territory. Of the twelve who pledged themselves thus, nine were from New England, two from New York, and one from Illinois.²⁴ Of the nine who actually went, seven were from New England, one from New York, and one from Illinois.²⁵ They met at Albany in October (1843), went by railroad to Buffalo, by steamboat to Chicago, and across Illinois in emigrant wagons loaded with supplies. At the Mississippi River they divided, one party striking across to Davenport, then to Burlington, and on to Denmark, the other proceeding directly to Burlington. From Denmark they went to the various small settlements which called them,²⁶ but throughout their lives tried to meet once a year to renew their friendship.

Other Congregational missionaries preceded and fol-

²³ Walker, W., *History of the Congregational Church in the U. S.*, p. 374.

²⁴ This last was Rev. Edwin B. Turner. He came from Monticello, Illinois, a town settled largely by New Englanders, and had been educated at Illinois College, itself a child of Yale College.

²⁵ Their historian was of their number—Rev. Ephraim Adams, author of *The Iowa Band* (revised edition, 1902). Constant use has been made of it for the facts given in the text above. The last survivor of the band, Rev. William Salter, died only a few days ago (August, 1910).

²⁶ In the appendix of the revised edition (1902) of *The Iowa Band* there is a map of their churches.

lowed the "Iowa Band": Rev. A. B. Hitchcock of Great Barrington, Massachusetts, who preached from 1841 to 1843 in Davenport; Rev. Oliver Emerson, Jr., of Lynnfield, Massachusetts, but graduated at Waterville College in Maine, who went in 1841 to Iowa; Rev. Reuben Gaylord of Norfolk, Connecticut, who preached in Iowa from 1844 until he went in 1855 as the first Congregational minister to Nebraska; Rev. Julius A. Reed, of East Windsor, Connecticut, who conducted a private school in Natchez, Mississippi, from 1831 to 1833, and went to Iowa in 1844; and Rev. J. C. Holbrook of Brattleboro, Vermont, who settled in 1845 in Dubuque.²⁷ It is no matter for wonder that in 1870 the Congregational churches in Iowa numbered 189, with about 10,000 members, and 181 ministers. Twenty years later there were over 30,000 members in more than 300 churches.²⁸ The large New England element in the state might account partially for these large numbers; but the far-reaching influence of the "Iowa Band," of other Congregational home missionaries, and of Iowa College cannot be emphasized too strongly. The idea of a Congregational college was, as has been shown, in the minds of the Denmark settlers; the school had begun in struggling fashion in 1848 in Davenport; but the first aid which set it on its feet came from the east in 1853,—a gift of \$5,080, from Deacon P. W. Carter of Waterbury, Connecticut.²⁹ The Davenport site not proving a wise choice, the college was moved in 1859 to its present site, Grinnell. This town was itself of New England origin, planned by and named for Josiah B. Grinnell, who was born in 1821 in New Haven, Vermont. Mr. Grinnell was forced to forego his plan for entering the ministry, and determined to devote his life to further-

²⁷ See Magoun, G. F., *Asa Turner and His Times*, pp. 199-217.

²⁸ Adams, E., *The Iowa Band*, pp. 78, 100.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

came from Oberlin, and the same year the Tabor Literary Institute was incorporated, the germ of the later Tabor College. It was in Tabor that John Brown spent some time preparing for his work in Kansas; and two members of the "Yale Dakota Band," missionaries to Dakota in 1881, came from this little colony.³⁵

While Iowa was passing through the pioneer stage other fields were opening to missionaries. In Missouri the Presbyterian Church had been more popular than the Congregational because of the uncompromising attitude of the latter toward slavery. The larger part of the Missourians were southerners, but here and there were little groups of settlers whose New England birth made them adhere to the faith of their childhood. Nathan Trumbull and his wife from Monson, Massachusetts, Colonel Cyrus Russell and his wife, with their nine children, from Somers, Connecticut, and Augustus Pease and his wife, neighbors of Colonel Russell in New England,—all these had made their way in 1837-8, when the Iron Mountain excitement was at its height, to Arcadia (now Ironton) in Missouri.³⁶ In 1841 these families formed a Congregational church; but there was not another in the state until Rev. Truman M. Post, "father of Missouri Congregationalism," gathered one together in 1852 in St. Louis.³⁷ Dr. Post was born in Middlebury, Vermont, was graduated at Middlebury College, and also taught there. He then became a professor in Illinois College, and was pastor of the Congregational church in Jacksonville until 1847, when he went to St. Louis to become pastor of the Third Presbyterian church. He was determined, however, to form a

³⁵ Dunning, A. E., *Congregationalists in America*, pp. 376, 377. It is obvious that the paragraphs above are but the beginning of a study of New England in Iowa.

³⁶ Punchard, G., *History of Congregationalism*, V., p. 153.

³⁷ There were New England Congregationalists in Missouri long before this, but they affiliated with the Presbyterians.

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Congregational church, and did so in 1852. He continued as pastor of that church until his death, thirty-four years later. In 1859 he went to Hannibal, 150 miles away, to preach the sermon at the first service in the Congregational church there.⁸⁸ But the growth of Congregationalism in Missouri was slow until after 1865. More than one reason might be assigned for the difficulty missionaries found in holding congregations together. In 1850 one missionary deplored the fact that "the churches had begun to feel the drain of emigration to Oregon and California."⁸⁹

During the same decades that part of Minnesota which bordered on the Mississippi River was being taken up by settlers from the states near by, from New England, and from the Middle States. The Indians were still in possession of the largest part of the territory, as they were of the Dakotas and Montana. In 1835 the American Board sent missionaries to the Indians around Fort Snelling; but for the next fifteen years the Presbyterians held the field. By 1851, however, enough Congregationalists had made homes in that region for the formation of a Congregational church,—to-day the "First Church" of Minneapolis. So rapidly did the denominational missionaries make headway that the Congregational churches in Minnesota in 1858 numbered thirty. Rev. Richard Hall, who had gone to the territory in 1850, wrote seven years later that the population had grown greatly since his arrival, especially the New England element, which he considered "unquestionably . . . destined to constitute the main staple of the population. . . . It promises, indeed, to predominate here in a more marked and decisive manner

⁸⁸ For references to Dr. Post's work see Magoun, G. F., *Asa Turner and His Times*, p. 110; Walker, W., *History of the Congregational Church in the United States*, p. 377.

⁸⁹ Hill, T., in *Thirtieth Annual Report (1856) of the American Home Missionary Society*, p. 77.

than in any Western state yet formed." He added that already the territory was called "the New England of the West."⁴⁰ In the decade between 1850 and 1860 the population jumped from 6,000 to 172,000. The fact that there were as yet no railroads kept settlements close to the rivers;—one can almost locate them by the spread of the Congregational missionary churches, of which in 1860 there were forty-three. The largest ones were located in St. Anthony (now Minneapolis), Excelsior, Winona, Faribault, Northfield, Lake City, Spring Valley, Owatonna, Austin, Glencoe, Zumbrota, Wabasha and St. Paul.⁴¹ From that decade dates the great strength of Congregationalism in Minnesota, which became, with Iowa, its greatest stronghold in the western Mississippi Valley.

In yet another quarter was the tide of emigration flowing after 1835,—into the little known country lying north of California. Interest in that section was aroused among New Englanders when Captain Robert Gray, of Tiverton, Rhode Island, sailing in command of a Boston ship, had in 1792 discovered the mouth of the Columbia River.⁴² The expedition of Lewis and Clark had stimulated the interest already awakened; but the remoteness of the Oregon country, the difficulty of making a way over the plains and mountains which lay between the settled area along the Mississippi River and that distant territory, together with the hostile attitude maintained by the fur-trading companies toward settlements, had effectually prevented emigration into the region. In 1835 the American Board sent out Dr. Marcus Whitman, a missionary physician, and Rev. Henry H. Spalding, with their wives. They arrived in Oregon in 1836, and were followed in 1838 by

⁴⁰ Hall, R., in *Annual Report* (1857) of the *American Home Missionary Society*, pp. 84, 85.

⁴¹ Hadden, A., *Congregationalism in Minnesota*, p. 11.

⁴² For Jefferson's early interest in this region see Sparks, J., *Life of John Ledyard*, p. 153 ff. (ed. of 1828).

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Rev. Cushing Eels, who formed at Oregon City in 1844 the first permanent Congregational church. Four years later a "General Association of Congregational Churches" in Oregon was formed, and in the same year Tualatin Academy was founded by the church missionaries. In 1853 the first institution for higher education in this section opened its classes—Pacific University at Forest Grove.⁴³ The attitude of the General Association toward the work it had to do is best illustrated by a resolution, passed in 1866:

"*Resolved*, That the idea and practice of our fathers, that education is the handmaid of religion, and that the school and college should go hand-in-hand with the church, should be a living, practical idea with us in Oregon, while laying foundations here."⁴⁴

The Congregational missionaries had been working nearly a quarter of century—since Oregon had become unquestionably a part of the United States—to make those New England ideas realities in their field.

All parts of the country felt the drain upon their population when, in 1848, gold was discovered in California. By all the old trails,—the Santa Fé, the Salt Lake, and even by the Oregon trail, as well as by water to the Isthmus or around the Horn,—emigrants poured into the territory so recently wrested from Mexico. The treaty of 1848 had given the overland approaches to the Pacific Coast entirely and without question into the hands of the United States, and the Mormon settlements in Utah, while not always friendly to emigrants, nevertheless afforded a half-way station that made the coast seem more accessible. But it needed an extraordinary reason to direct the tide of

⁴³ Walker, W., *History of the Congregational Church in the United States*, p. 378.

⁴⁴ Punchard, G., *History of Congregationalism*, V., pp. 403, 404, citing *Minutes of the General Association . . . of Oregon*, 1866, p. 7.

emigration strongly to California while good and cheap land was still plentiful in regions nearer the settled area to the east, and this reason the gold discoveries supplied. Even before the rush from the east had begun, Rev. Timothy D. Hunt, a Yale graduate, had reached San Francisco; but it was of the new arrivals that in 1849 he formed the first Congregational church in California. The same year the second church of the denomination was gathered in Sacramento. In 1850 Rev. Mr. Blakeslee, also a missionary, tried to interest people in the establishment of a Congregational college near San José; but the removal of the capital to Sacramento put an end to his plan for the moment.⁴⁵ Rev. Tyler Thacher, a New England Congregationalist, reached California in the latter part of 1851, and located at Marysville, intending to open a private school and also preach in the neighborhood. His school was not a success, but he continued to preach on Sundays and work on his ranch during the week.⁴⁶ In 1853 seven home missionaries and their families came to San Francisco, among whom was Henry Durant of Byfield, Massachusetts, the seat of Dummer Academy. He began at once to work for an academy and a college, and was aided by both Presbyterians and Congregationalists. Contra Costa Academy was opened, with Mr. Durant as principal. It grew into the College of California, then became the state university, with Mr. Durant its first president.⁴⁷ These were the foundation-stones of higher education in northern California; not for nearly forty years was Pomona College founded to represent the efforts of Congregationalism for higher education in southern California.

When the "gold rush" to California began, there was

⁴⁵ Punchard, G., *History of Congregationalism*, V., pp. 386, 387.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 382, 383.

but little settlement beyond the Missouri River, save for a few towns (really only trading-posts) along its western bank. Within the next few years settlers straggled into what are now the states of Kansas and Nebraska, but they were mostly from Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee. In March, 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska bill became a law, and at once work began on organized lines by both northern and southern sympathizers to gain these new territories for their own cause. During 1854-55 ten companies (about 1,500 persons in all) were sent out by the Massachusetts association alone. One of the largest went to Lawrence, Kansas, where, on September 23, 1854, Rev. Mr. Lum, a Congregational minister, preached the first sermon in the town, and the next month organized the first Congregational church in Kansas.⁴⁸ On March 1, 1855, a colony was organized in Hampden County, Massachusetts, and started almost immediately for Kansas. They had intended to go to Lawrence, but changed their minds and founded a town called Hampden in the Neosho Valley, near the present town of Burlington. Their minister preached his first sermon April 29, 1855; but town and church had a precarious existence until 1865, when Burlington became the county seat, whereupon most of the Hampden colony moved there, and their first town died.⁴⁹ Other towns had a different history; there were enough of them containing Congregational churches to form a General Association in 1855.⁵⁰ The Maine Missionary Society put

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, V., p. 346. Walker, W., *History of the Congregational Church in the United States*, p. 391.

⁴⁹ Andreas, A. T., *History of the State of Kansas*, pp. 647, 663.

⁵⁰ The eight towns whose churches formed the association were Osawatomie, Zeandale, Topeka, Council City (Burlingame), Hampden, Lawrence, Manhattan, Kanwaka. See Punchard, *sup. cit.*, V., p. 348. Some figures as to the birthplace of Kansans from New England are found in an article by Wilder, D. W., in *Kansas Hist. Coll.*, IX., pp. 507, 508, note on p. 508.

forth an earnest plea in 1856 for extra funds to carry on church work in all parts of the country, but especially in Kansas. "*Our Home Missionary work*," says the report,⁵¹ "may be regarded as embracing the whole land. In what part of it are not the sons and daughters of Maine to be found? The portion of its annual receipts which this Society shall deposit in the Treasury in New York, for the benefit of the mighty West, will go to the support of missionaries from Maine, in preaching the Gospel to hearers from Maine. In the Territory of Kansas there are emigrants from Maine . . . ready to do their part . . . on the side of order, law, and liberty." So imperative did the need for missionaries seem that four young men (two from New Hampshire and two from Michigan), students in Andover Theological Seminary, organized in 1856 a "Kansas Band," similar in purpose to the "Iowa Band" mentioned above.⁵² They, as well as other missionaries, preached to Congregational churches not made up exclusively of New Englanders; but their most cordial welcome was in such towns as Manhattan; Hartford, named for Hartford in Connecticut by one of its founders, Harvey D. Rice; Burlington, named for Burlington, Vermont; and Lawrence, named for A. A. Lawrence of Boston.⁵³ Man-

⁵¹ "Trustees' Report," in *Annual Report* (No. 30) of the *American Home Missionary Society*, 1856, p. 61.

⁵² Clark, *Leavening the Nation*, p. 109. Two other significant steps were taken by the Congregational Church in 1852 and in 1854. In the former year a convention met in Albany, N. Y., to which came 463 pastors and lay representatives from seventeen states, to consider the condition and needs of the church as a whole. Among other requests one was made for \$50,000 to erect "meeting-houses" in Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota. See Walker, W., *sup. cit.*, pp. 382, 383. In 1854 a convention of lay and clerical delegates representing the Congregational churches of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, and Iowa, met in Chicago and organized the Chicago Theological Seminary to train up ministers for service in those states and other portions of the west. See *ibid.*, p. 389.

⁵³ For names of Kansas towns and their origin, see Calver, W. R., in *Kansas Hist. Coll.*, VII., pp. 476, 479, 480.

hattan had a literary society, a circulating library, a weekly debating society, and an association for establishing a college almost as soon as the town was settled. In 1859 the cornerstone of their "Blue Mont College" was laid; in 1863, when it was turned over to the state for an agricultural college, its first president was Joseph Denison, born in Bernardston, Massachusetts.⁵⁴ The first steps towards founding a college under the auspices of the General Association of Congregational Churches in Kansas were taken in 1857. But a year of drought, the disturbed conditions preceding the Civil War, followed by the five years of conflict, prevented further action until 1865, when Lincoln College opened its doors in Topeka. A gift of \$25,000 from Deacon Ichabod Washburn of Worcester, Massachusetts, led in 1868 to a change in its name; and Washburn College has ever since been supported especially by Congregationalists of Massachusetts and Connecticut.⁵⁵

New England settlers began to leave for Nebraska in July and August, 1854. In 1855 Rev. Reuben Gaylord, who had been for seventeen years a home missionary in Iowa, went to Omaha to see what were the spiritual needs of that region. He preached on Sunday, and after the service was asked by a Mr. Richardson, a native of Vermont, who had been a lieutenant-governor in Michigan, to stay as pastor of a Congregational church if one could be formed. The following May Mr. Gaylord returned to Omaha and began his ministry with a church of eight mem-

⁵⁴ Humphrey, J., in *Kansas Hist. Coll.*, IV., p. 292; also see Walters, J. D., in *ibid.*, VII., p. 169 and note. Isaac T. Goodnow, superintendent of public instruction in Kansas from 1863 to 1867, a native of Whittingham, Vermont, was one of the founders of Blue Mont College and of the State Agricultural College. See *Columbian History of Education in Kansas* (Topeka, 1893), p. 7.

⁵⁵ Dunning, A. E., *Congregationalists in America*, p. 375.

bers—the first Congregational society in Nebraska.⁵⁶ During the remaining months of the year he established four more, at Bellevue, Florence, Fort Calhoun, and Fontanelle. The Fontanelle church of twenty-four members was made up of colonists from Quincy, Illinois, who in platting their town the previous year had set off a tract of one hundred acres for a college. As some of the leading members of the colony were Baptists, it was at first intended to represent that denomination; but later the site was offered to the Congregationalists, who then founded "Nebraska University." At least three other towns wanted a college, but the American Home Missionary Society determined to encourage but one college for their denomination in Nebraska, and frowned down other plans. When the one college was moved to Crete in 1873, it became Doane College, as it is to-day.⁵⁷

Although the Civil War checked the flow of emigration to the west, it did not stop it.⁵⁸ The discovery of gold in the Bannack and neighboring regions in the early sixties drew settlers from Missouri, Kentucky, and Virginia by way of the Missouri River and its upper tributaries, or through Utah, to make the first settlements in Montana and Idaho. The early capital of Montana was first named Varina, for the wife of Jefferson Davis, and then Virginia City. New England emigrants and pioneers from the middle west came in during the later years of the war, and "the 'cause,' while waning after Vicksburg and Get-

⁵⁶ Punchard, *sup. cit.*, V., p. 358.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, V., pp. 364, 365, 366. Later still Gates College had a precarious existence at Neligh, but has now become merely an academy.

⁵⁸ Nor did it quench missionary zeal even temporarily. In 1861 the trustees of the Maine Missionary Society reported to the American Home Missionary Society that they were interested in sending missionaries to "the sons of Maine on Puget Sound [who were] . . . calling upon ministers from the East—their fatherland—to come over and help them." See *Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the American Home Missionary Society* (1861), p. 65.

turned more easily to manufacturing, railroad-building, cattle-raising, and mining, leaving the foreigners to fill in the stratum of agricultural laborers, depleted as this class was by the drain of Americans into the more skilled industries.

Minnesota, whose population of 250,000 in 1865 grew to 400,000 in 1870, was a goal for both kinds of pioneers. It continued, however, to develop along the lines of New England tradition which had been in evidence before 1860. New Congregational churches were established every year after 1863, and in 1866 the first movement was made toward founding a college. In 1867 a preparatory school was opened at Northfield, long a New England town and a stronghold of Congregational principles; in 1870-71 the college department was organized and named for William Carleton of Massachusetts, who gave it \$50,000.⁸² By 1880 there were 130 Congregational churches in the state; 80 new ones were planted during the next ten years; and in 1890, of the twenty-five cities in the state having a population of 2,000 or over, all but five had Congregational churches.⁸³ The centers of Congregational influence—and they were all in their early days centers of New England influence—were Winona, with two churches of that denomination; Duluth, with three; St. Paul, with eight, and ten missions; and Minneapolis, with sixteen, and twelve missions.⁸⁴

Turning again to Missouri, it was not until after 1864 that Congregationalism found much favor outside the immediate circle of Dr. Post's influence; yet by 1870 Hannibal, which had had a Congregational church since 1859,

⁸² Hadden, A., *Congregationalism in Minnesota*, pp. 11, 12.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 12. These five were Albert Lea, Moorhead, Hastings, Red Wing, and St. Peter.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12. Dr. Hadden gives a valuable map showing the location of Congregational churches in 1890 in *ibid.*, p. 17, with a key on pp. 14, 15, 16.

very great, as has been also that among the "mountain whites"; but many of these 311 churches have on their roll of members many New Englanders who have moved into the south since 1865, because of the great business opportunities which an industrially reconstructed South have opened. With the building of railroads and telegraph lines, with the growth of factories nearer the fields of cotton production, with the greatly diversified industrial life of the cities, the old lines of migration have ceased to draw New Englanders exclusively into the north and northwest, but have made possible a crossing and re-crossing of the lines of both northern and southern settlement. The greater wealth of individual families, moreover, has produced the "winter colonies" in Florida, Louisiana, Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia, and it is to this element—people who go to the South for but a portion of the year—that many Congregational churches as well as those of other creeds look for their support. The same condition is found in California, Arizona, and New Mexico, as we shall see in a brief survey of the educational work done in the last fifty years by the Congregational Church and its societies.

Besides giving their support to public schools in the towns they have helped to build, New England Congregationalists have, especially since their "denominational awakening" about 1822, taken keen interest in sectarian education. The foundations were often laid, as has been shown, by the establishment of an academy. Typical cases are two schools in Utah and New Mexico.⁷⁷ In the winter of 1877-78 President Edward P. Tenney and Rev. Charles R. Bliss of Colorado College, met in the Congre-

⁷⁷ The account which follows is taken from a manuscript entitled, "A Fragment of History," by Rev. Charles R. Bliss, in the Congregational Library, Congregational House, Boston, under *New West Education Commission Papers*.

gational House in Boston, and there laid plans for establishing during the following summer two academies. These were to be situated at Salt Lake City and at Santa Fé, for the following objects:—"Primarily to benefit the people of those territories, and secondarily to build up feeders to Colorado College." The type of each school was that "of the old New England academy." Colorado College sent a principal to each city, and in September, 1878, the schools were opened. In 1879 another of the same group was opened in Albuquerque, in 1881 another in Trinidad, and a few years later a fifth in Las Vegas. At the same time there was a preparatory school in Colorado Springs, as a department of Colorado College. In Iowa as late as 1883 the demand for such schools was set forth in the following words: "One academy, like the New England grammar school, in every county is a growing necessity. For example, Denmark Academy, in Lee County, has promoted the higher education of more persons than all the colleges in Iowa."⁷⁸ But throughout the country west of the Mississippi River the prevailing system of education, beginning with the elementary school, continuing in the free high school, and ending in the state university, all supported by general taxation and under state or local control, has led to a partial abandoning of the academy idea. The policy in recent years has been to disband the sectarian preparatory schools as soon as public high schools became competent to do the work, excepting where the academy was needed as a "feeder" for the denominational college.⁷⁹ The large funds at the disposal of the state universities, moreover, have often put

⁷⁸ Howe, S. S., *Annals of Iowa*, April, 1883, p. 55.

⁷⁹ For instance, the academies at Albuquerque and Las Vegas were disbanded in 1896. The Presbyterians have often had an academy in the same town, doing the same work; and the unnecessary expense entailed upon the educational societies of the Congregational Church has also been a potent factor in closing the academies.

As the denominational college has come to be for both men and women a training-school in Christian citizenship, and as the requirements for entrance to the ministry have become higher, the theological seminary or "divinity school" has become differentiated from the college, and is sometimes a separate institution. Of these schools but one lies beyond the Mississippi River—the Pacific Theological Seminary, opened in 1869 in Oakland, California. Never a large institution, it has, however, been an important factor in setting and maintaining on the Pacific Coast a high standard of preaching, of ministerial work, and of missionary enterprise.

Some tentative conclusions appear from the brief study given above:

1. The Congregational Church has sometimes accompanied, sometimes followed settlement; it has almost never preceded it. It has made its way most quickly and easily in communities where there have been found together the four most typical New England institutions,—the church, the preparatory school (public or private), the college, and the town-meeting. All four are, as was said at the beginning of this study, part of one political, social, and religious system. Therefore the Congregational Church has become most influential where there has settled the greatest number of persons with New England background.

2. The peculiarity in the organization of the Congregational Church—the absolute independence of each group of members—has made it difficult for the denomination to maintain itself except in churches of some size. This accounts for the colony idea, the necessity for "lay emigra-

Dr. and Mrs. Mills had been missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands, and returned to the United States after many years' service to "do for the far West what Mount Holyoke Seminary does for the East." (See Dunning, *sup. cit.*, p. 385). Mills Seminary, now Mills College, has always had Congregational affiliations.

tion," which would result in transplanting a group of families with their minister at their head. In farming communities or in small towns the Presbyterians gained ground, and finally in some parts of the country supplanted the Congregationalists entirely. The rise of the Congregational missionary societies was in large part due to a general desire to prevent Presbyterianism from growing, and at the same time to help small and isolated churches.

3. The conservatism of the Church has made it cling to its original ideas—especially to the belief in the religious education of young men and young women, and to the inherent democracy of its organization and practice. Hence the necessity for the denominational college and the denominational preparatory school, both to be planted in the midst of Congregational communities.

4. With all its conservatism, the ideals of the Congregational Church are shifting with the changing ideals of our country. For ten years the American people have been growing more sensitive to the presence in their midst of social, political, and industrial wrongs, and they have become more and more determined to right those wrongs. The Church has felt this moral awakening, and in response to it has broadened its creeds, increased its work on the philanthropic and humanitarian sides, and sought to "democratize" its membership by sweeping all classes into its fold. The denominational college has broadened its scope as a part of the same movement.

5. The history of the Congregational Church is bound up inseparably with the history of the whole country, and cannot be studied apart from the large movements which have affected the United States from ocean to ocean. Any impetus to emigration into the west has carried New Englanders and the Congregational Church with it; any check to the movement towards the frontier has held them both back. Small groups set here and there as they have

been in the past and are to-day, they are, nevertheless, integral parts of the large group, the American people, and they can only be understood when they are studied in their relations to that larger group.

LOIS KIMBALL MATHEWS.

OREGON PIONEERS AND AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

THE settlement of diplomatic questions, if such a settlement is to be permanent and satisfactory, must be upon the basis of facts whose logic cannot be denied by the nations most interested. It is upon these facts that national convictions ultimately depend irrespective of whether or not they influence or dominate the course and conclusion of the diplomatic negotiations over boundary disputes. In the formation of public opinion on the merits of such territorial controversies, possession is not only nine points of the law—it is the law. It is then a happy conjunction when the negotiations are between the diplomats of governments which are quickly and fully responsive to public opinion. The natural opportunism of diplomacy is made to square with the facts in the case, and the results of treaties are consequently more likely to make for peace and a permanent solution.

Some of the principles just stated are exceptionally well illustrated in the history of the negotiations between the United States and England over the question of the Oregon boundary. The issue in that instance, first formally raised in 1815, was discussed by representatives of the two powers in the years 1818, 1824, 1826, and again in 1842, always without success beyond the bare adoption of a mode for postponing safely its final determination. This failure is not chargeable to incompetency or dereliction on the part of the negotiators on either side, but simply to the state of facts as regards the relations of the parties to each other and to the territory in question.

In 1818 the Oregon boundary question was associated with that of the boundary from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains. The United States was especially concerned about the latter question, while Great Britain was very willing to leave the former open for subsequent discussion.¹ Each party had its views as to what would be a satisfactory boundary from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, and these views failed to coincide, but neither party was ready to insist on a final partition at the time, and doubtless each hoped to reap some advantage from delay. The opportune moment had not arrived. Similarly, on the later occasions, 1824, 1826, and 1842, the negotiations ostensibly begun in the expectation that the pending dispute might be terminated, were in each case hopeless from their inception because it was well understood that neither party was ready to yield anything toward closing the gap between their rival claims. Discussion, under the circumstances, was little more than a pompous mode of marking time.

George Canning, in 1824, had laid down the principles which would govern England in the case, definitely announcing that no boundary other than the Columbia River could be accepted.² To this policy the British govern-

¹ See report of British Negotiators, Board of Trade, October 20, 1818, to Viscount Castlereagh, in *Public Record Office, F. O. America, No. 138*, "it appeared to us impossible, at the present moment, permanently to define any boundary in that quarter [west of the Rocky Mountains]. Under these circumstances we thought it most advisable to accede to an article which will appear in the inclosed protocol in the hope that by thus leaving the country in question open to the trade of both nations for a limited period we substantially secured to Great Britain every present advantage which could have flowed from its actual possession; and the arrangement appeared also to us to remove all prospect of immediate collision without precluding any further discussion for a definitive settlement.

² *F. O. America, No. 191*. Canning to the British plenipotentiaries May 31, 1824. Their proposal was to extend the boundary by the forty-

ment adhered with a doggedness sufficiently characteristic, until the final stage of the negotiations of the period 1842 to 1846, when, with seeming inconsistency, they agreed to accept with slight modifications the offer our government had made as early as 1818, namely, to run the boundary along the forty-ninth parallel to the sea. The year 1846 was therefore apparently the opportune time for effecting the boundary settlement, and it would be possible to explain pretty fully, on the basis of circumstances as they operated on the one nation and on the other, why this was true. In the present paper, however, we shall content ourselves with an effort to trace with some detail the influence upon the negotiations of one noteworthy fact—the forward movement of American pioneer farmers into the Oregon territory during the period of debate over the boundary.

But a preliminary word is required upon the allied topic of the influence of the Oregon fur-trade in determining the earlier attitude of the respective claimants to the question of delimiting the territory. The region of country watered by the Columbia and its far-spreading tributaries remained during a full third of the nineteenth century a fur-traders' preserve. The magnificent enterprise of John Jacob Astor in the years 1810 to 1814, by which it was hoped to bring it definitely under American control, was brought to a disastrous ending through the stress of war, and so the British Northwest Company, from Canada, was left from the latter date in almost undisturbed possession of the trade from Alaska to California. At the periods of the earlier negotiations these British interests dominated the region.³ Canning, in 1824, called attention to that ninth parallel from the Rockies to the northeasternmost branch of the Columbia, thence down that river to the sea.

³ See a forthcoming article by the writer to appear in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1911, under the title, "The British Attitude Toward the Oregon Question, 1815 to 1846."

sionary enterprise directed toward the Indians of the region the movement quickly assumed an independent character, and by the year 1843 had gained considerable momentum.¹² Coming thus late in the history of the negotiation, we would expect to discern its influence in a marked form only in the final stage of the controversy. Therefore, despite oft-repeated American prophecies of such an event,¹³ it is not surprising to find the British government for the first time taking account of the possibility of an American pioneer occupation of the Oregon country during the negotiation of 1843. Lord Ashburton, writing from Washington to Lord Aberdeen after the opening of that negotiation, expressed his conviction that the Americans were chiefly interested in securing a good harbor on the Pacific, not in acquiring the country for purposes of settlement. "At present," said he, "they have few if any settlers there, and as they have located the great body of Indian tribes which they have forced back from the countries east of the Mississippi, on the headwaters of the Missouri towards the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, it will not be easy for their western settlements to spread in the usual manner in that direction for many years to come."¹⁴

Had Lord Ashburton been aware that at the very moment of writing the above prediction, a company of more than one hundred emigrants was setting out from the Missouri frontier for Oregon, he would perhaps have modified this opinion. The Indians in fact offered no serious obstacle to the movement of Americans from the more settled districts to the western slope; and though the lands

¹² See Schafer, Joseph, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, Chapters X, XI, and XII.

¹³ See Floyd's report, 1821, *sup. cit.*, note 12. J. Q. Adams, instructing Richard Rush in 1823 about a proposal for an Oregon treaty with Britain, spoke of the high probability that the United States would one day plant a colony in Oregon. *Am. State Papers, F. R.*, V., p. 792.

¹⁴ Ashburton to Aberdeen, April 25, 1842. *F. O. America*, No. 379.

son to oust the Hudson's Bay Company from a portion of their lands at Vancouver upon which Williamson proposed to establish his own claim, and one or two minor differences with Americans. McLoughlin also traces the history of the movement for a provisional government which began to take shape among the American settlers in 1842. He explains why the Canadians—British subjects—living in the Willamette Valley, who declined at first to join in that movement, allowed themselves finally to be won over. They felt that with the growth of population some settled form of government became imperative. Lastly, he explains and defends the action of himself and associates, the representatives of the Company, in themselves joining the provisional government as it was reorganized a few weeks before the arrival of the British ship in Oregon waters. They did it to protect the Company's large property interests in Oregon, and to contribute to the general peace and prosperity which would be jeopardized if the local division into a British and American jurisdiction should be perpetuated.⁴⁴ McLoughlin concludes the salient part of his letter with the prediction "that, unless active measures are taken by [the British] government, for the protection and encouragement of British influence—this country will pass into their [American] hands, as the overwhelming number of Americans who are from year to year coming to the country will give an American tone and character to the institutions which it will be impossible afterward to eradicate.

"We have lately received intelligence from the interior that a large party of American citizens are on the route

the origin of this claim Simpson's Letters. *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XIV., pp. 82, and note.

⁴⁴ Some of these points are more flatly stated by McLoughlin in a letter to his Company, dated August 30, 1845, and transmitted to the Foreign Office almost contemporaneously with the above letter. See *F. O. America*, No. 459.

senting the chief British interest in the country itself. The detailed knowledge of conditions in Oregon interpreted to the British, as nothing else could, the attitude of the American people on this question—the government's adamantine stand against concession,⁵² the impatience, not to say insolence, of Congress, and the widespread disposition through the country, and especially in the west, to force the issue even at the hazard of war. Had it been possible for the British government to remain ignorant of the conditions generating this peculiar national psychology, it is conceivable they might have chosen war instead of concession, but these conditions fixed the "irreducible minimum" they would have to yield in order to secure a peaceful settlement. In other words, it was the Oregon pioneer who, fulfilling by his arduous trail-making across the continent in the forties earlier prophesies of American expansion to the Pacific, vindicated his government's pretensions to the forty-ninth parallel boundary on the ground of contiguity, and actually prepared the triumph technically won by American diplomacy.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

⁵² Except on minor points, particularly in running the line around Vancouver's Island instead of across it.

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE NORTHWEST IN 1779

THE occupation of the northwest by George Rogers Clark and his band of frontiersmen established a claim for the United States to the transmontane territory which the later negotiations of Franklin, Adams, and Jay made effective; but the brilliant diplomacy of these agents might have proved fruitless had the Virginia troops failed in maintaining their position on the distant frontier. Throughout the year following that of the occupation this appeared to the leaders an almost hopeless task on account of the many difficulties confronting them. The soldiers who had followed Clark so gallantly into the wilderness were, like all frontier militia, satisfied with the accomplishment of their immediate task, and now demanded the right of returning to their homes. The pleadings of their leader persuaded only about eighty to remain to secure the results of their enterprise. Colonel Clark was obliged to replace this loss by enlisting the volatile and, in his opinion, untrustworthy French of the villages into the companies of the Illinois battalion. With this small and untried band he prepared to hold the whole territory of the northwest against the forces which the British could muster from Canada.

It had not been expected that the Virginians would thus be isolated, for the Continental Congress had planned to capture Detroit by a force sent out from Fort Pitt. Unfortunately, the successful peace with the Indians as a preliminary to this expedition was followed by the futile acts of General McIntosh, the leader of this expedition,

tain Helm to take control of all civil matters and act as superintendent of Indian affairs. Moses Henry was made Indian agent. The garrison of forty picked men was left in command of Lieutenant Richard Brashears, assisted by Lieutenants Bailey and Chaplin. Letters were sent John Bowman, then county lieutenant in Kentucky, urging him to begin collecting men and provisions for the proposed march on Detroit.

No victorious army ever returned with spirits more elated than the eighty men who, on March 20, accompanied Clark on the trail back to Kaskaskia. Within a year the authority of Virginia over the region stretching from the Ohio to the Illinois and 140 miles up the Wabash had been established by conquest. The danger that the frontier settlements would be cut off by savages under the leadership of British agents was greatly lessened. These results had been accomplished against odds that would have completely overcome men not already inured to the harsh conditions incident to life on the frontier. No assistance had been rendered by the Virginia authorities, and for nearly a year Clark had not even received, as he expressed it, "a scrape of a pen" from Governor Henry.³¹ The six boats pushed off down the Wabash amidst the rejoicing of the people who had assembled to wish them a "good and safe passage." A few of those who lingered to watch the boats until they were lost to view fully comprehended the results which had been attained. Their thought was expressed by one of their number as follows:

"Although a handful in comparison to other armies, they have done themselves and the cause they were fighting for, credit and honor, and deserve a place in History for future ages; that their posterity may know the difficulty their forefathers had gone through for their liberty and freedom. Particularly the back

³¹ Letter of Clark to Patrick Henry, April 29, 1779.

unimportant. This study will have served its main purpose if it makes evident that in the establishment of peaceful relations with the Indians, in the founding of civil government in the Illinois country, and in the neutralization of all British activity in the northwest by the zeal and publicity with which the proposed expedition against Detroit was promoted, George Rogers Clark and his associates had successfully met the problems which confronted them. In view of these larger events Clark's judgment upon his success in spreading reports may well be given a wider content by the historian, and the summer of 1779 pronounced one that "was spent to advantage. . . ." ¹⁹

JAMES ALTON JAMES.

¹⁹ *Clark's Memoir.*

KANSAS

SOME years ago, in a New England college town, when I informed one of my New England friends that I was preparing to go to Kansas, he replied rather blankly, "Kansas?! Oh." The amenities of casual intercourse demanded a reply, certainly, but from the point of view of my New England friend I suppose there was really nothing more to say; and, in fact, standing there under the peaceful New England elms, Kansas did seem tolerably remote. Some months later I rode out of Kansas City and entered for the first time what I had always pictured as the land of grasshoppers, of arid drought, and barren social experimentation. In the seat just ahead were two young women, girls rather, whom I afterwards saw at the university. As we left the dreary yards behind, and entered the half-open country along the Kansas River, one of the pair, breaking abruptly away from the ceaseless chatter that had hitherto engrossed them both, began looking out of the car window. Her attention seemed fixed, for perhaps a quarter of an hour, upon something in the scene outside—the fields of corn, or it may have been the sunflowers that lined the track; but at last, turning to her companion with the contented sigh of a returning exile, she said, "*Dear old Kansas!*" The expression somehow recalled my New England friend. I wondered vaguely, as I was sure he would have done, why any one should feel moved to say "Dear old Kansas!" I had supposed that Kansas, even more than Italy, was only a geographical expression. But not so. Not infrequently, since then, I have heard the same expression—not always from emotional young girls. To understand why people say "Dear

old Kansas!" is to understand that Kansas is no mere geographical expression, but a "state of mind," a religion, and a philosophy in one.

The difference between the expression of my staid New England friend and that of the enthusiastic young Kansan, is perhaps symbolical, in certain respects, of the difference between those who remain at home and those who, in successive generations, venture into the unknown "West,"—New England or Kansas,—wherever it may be. In the seventeenth century there was doubtless no lack of Englishmen—prelates for example, in lawn sleeves, comfortably buttressed about by tithes and the Thirty-nine Articles—who might have indicated their point of view quite fully by remarking, "New England?! Oh." Whether any New Englander of that day ever went so far as to say "Dear old New England," I do not know. But that the sentiment was there, furnishing fuel for the inner light, is past question. Now-a-days the superiority of New England is taken for granted, I believe, by the people who live there; but in the seventeenth century, when its inhabitants were mere frontiersmen, they were given, much as Kansans are said to be now, to boasting,—alas! even of the climate. In 1629, Mr. Higginson, a reverend gentleman, informed his friends back in England that "The temper of the aire of New England is one special thing that commends this place. Experience doth manifest that there is hardly a more healthful place to be found in the world that agreeth better with our English bodyes. Many that have been weake and sickly in old England, by coming hither have been thoroughly healed and growne healthfull strong. For here is a most extraordinarie cleere and dry aire that is of a most healing nature to all such as are of a cold, melancholy, flegmatick, rheumatick temper of body. . . . And therefore I think it a wise course for all cold complexions to come to take physic in New England; for a sup of New

England aire is better than a whole draft of Old England's ale." Now, we who live in Kansas know well that its climate is superior to any other in the world, and that it enables one, more readily than any other, to dispense with the use of ale.

There are those who will tell us, and have indeed often told us, with a formidable array of statistics, that Kansas is inhabited only in small part by New Englanders, and that it is therefore fanciful in the extreme to think of it as representing Puritanism transplanted. It is true, the people of Kansas came mainly from "the Middle West"—from Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Iowa, Kentucky, and Missouri. But for our purpose the fact is of little importance, for it is the ideals of a people rather than the geography they have outgrown that determine their destiny; and in Kansas, as has been well said, "it is the ideas of the Pilgrims, not their descendants, that have had dominion in the young commonwealth." Ideas, sometimes, as well as the star of empire, move westward, and so it happens that Kansas is more Puritan than New England of to-day. It is akin to New England of early days. It is what New England, old England itself, once was—the frontier, an ever changing spot where dwell the courageous who defy fate and conquer circumstance.

For the frontier is more than a matter of location, and Puritanism is itself a kind of frontier. There is an intellectual "West" as well as a territorial "West." Both are heresies, the one as much subject to the scorn of the judicious as the other. Broad classifications of people are easily made and are usually inaccurate; but they are convenient for taking a large view, and it may be worth while to think, for the moment, of two kinds of people—those who like the sheltered life, and those who cannot endure it, those who think the world as they know it is well enough, and those who dream of something better, or, at any rate,

something different. From age to age society builds its shelters of various sorts—accumulated traditions, religious creeds, political institutions, and intellectual conceptions, cultivated and well kept farms, well built and orderly cities—providing a monotonous and comfortable life that tends always to harden into conventional forms resisting change. With all this the home-keeping and timid are well content. They sit in accustomed corners, disturbed by no fortuitous circumstance. But there are those others who are forever tugging at the leashes of ordered life, eager to venture into the unknown. Forsaking beaten paths, they plunge into the wilderness. They must be always on the frontier of human endeavor, submitting what is old and accepted to conditions that are new and untried. The frontier is thus the seed plot where new forms of life, whether of institutions or types of thought, are germinated, the condition of all progress being in a sense a return to the primitive.

Now, generally speaking, the men who make the world's frontiers, whether in religion or politics, science, or geographical exploration and territorial settlement, have certain essential and distinguishing qualities. They are primarily men of faith. Having faith in themselves, they are individualists. They are idealists because they have faith in the universe, being confident that somehow everything is right at the center of things; they give hostages to the future, are ever inventing God anew, and must be always transforming the world into their ideal of it. They have faith in humanity and in the perfectibility of man, are likely, therefore, to be believers in equality, reformers, intolerant, aiming always to level others up to their own high vantage. These qualities are not only Puritan, they are American; and Kansas is not only Puritanism transplanted, but Americanism transplanted. In the individualism, the idealism, the belief in equality that prevail in Kansas, we shall therefore see nothing strangely new, but

simply a new graft of familiar American traits. But as Kansas is a community with a peculiar and distinctive experience, there is something peculiar and distinctive about the individualism, the idealism, and the belief in equality of its people. If we can get at this something peculiar and distinctive, it will be possible to understand why the sight of sunflowers growing beside a railroad track may call forth the fervid expression, "Dear old Kansas."

I

Individualism is everywhere characteristic of the frontier, and in America, where the geographical frontier has hitherto played so predominant a part, a peculiarly marked type of individualism is one of the most obvious traits of the people. "To the frontier," Professor Turner has said, "the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. That coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance that comes from freedom." On the frontier, where everything is done by the individual and nothing by organized society, initiative, resourcefulness, quick, confident, and sure judgment are the essential qualities for success. But as the problems of the frontier are rather restricted and definite, those who succeed there have necessarily much the same kind of initiative and resourcefulness, and their judgment will be sure only in respect to the problems that are familiar to all. It thus happens that the type of individualism produced on the frontier and predominant in America, has this peculiarity, that while the sense of freedom is strong, there is neverthe-

less a certain uniformity in respect to ability, habit, and point of view. The frontier develops strong individuals, but it develops individuals of a particular type, all being after much the same pattern. The individualism of the frontier is one of achievement, not of eccentricity, an individualism of fact arising from a sense of power to overcome obstacles, rather than one of theory growing out of weakness in the face of oppression. It is not because he fears governmental activity, but because he has so often had to dispense with it, that the American is an individualist. Altogether averse from hesitancy, doubt, speculative or introspective tendencies, the frontiersman is a man of faith: of faith, not so much in some external power, as in himself, in his luck, his destiny; faith in the possibility of achieving whatever is necessary or he desires. It is this marked self-reliance that gives to Americans their tremendous power of initiative; but the absence of deep-seated differences gives to them an equally tremendous power of concerted social action.

The confident individualism of those who achieve through endurance is a striking trait of the people of Kansas. There, indeed, the trait has in it an element of exaggeration, arising from the fact that whatever has been achieved in Kansas has been achieved under great difficulties. Kansans have been subjected, not only to the ordinary hardships of the frontier, but to a succession of reverses and disasters that could be survived only by those for whom defeat is worse than death, who cannot fail because they cannot surrender. To the border wars succeeded hot winds, droughts, grasshoppers; and to the disasters of nature succeeded in turn the scourge of man, in the form of "mortgage fiends" and a contracting currency. Until 1895 the whole history of the state was a series of disasters, and always something new, extreme, bizarre, until the name Kansas became a byword, a syn-

onym for the impossible and the ridiculous, inviting laughter, furnishing occasion for jest and hilarity. "In God we trusted, in Kansas we busted," became a favorite motto of emigrants, worn out with the struggle, returning to more hospitable climes; and for many years it expressed well enough the popular opinion of that fated land.

Yet there were some who never gave up. They stuck it out. They endured all that even Kansas could inflict. They kept the faith, and they are to be pardoned perhaps if they therefore feel that henceforth there is laid up for them a crown of glory. Those who remained in Kansas from 1875 to 1895 must have originally possessed staying qualities of no ordinary sort, qualities which the experience of those years could only accentuate. And as success has at last rewarded their efforts, there has come, too, a certain pride, an exuberance, a feeling of superiority that accompany a victory long delayed and hardly won. The result has been to give a peculiar flavor to the Kansas spirit of individualism. With Kansas history back of him, the true Kansan feels that nothing is *too much* for him. How shall he be afraid of any danger, or hesitate at any obstacle, having succeeded where failure was not only human, but almost honorable? Having conquered Kansas, he knows well that there are no worse worlds to conquer. The Kansas spirit is therefore one that finds something exhilarating in the challenge of an extreme difficulty. "No one," says St. Augustine, "loves what he endures, though he may love to endure." With Kansans, it is particularly a point of pride to suffer easily the stings of fortune, and if they find no pleasure in the stings themselves, the ready endurance of them gives a consciousness of merit that is its own reward. Yet it is with no solemn martyr's air that the true Kansan endures the worst that can happen. His instinct is rather to pass it off as a minor annoyance, furnishing occasion for a pleasantry, for

it is the mark of a Kansan to take a reverse as a joke rather than too seriously. Indeed, the endurance of extreme adversity has developed a keen appreciation for that type of humor, everywhere prevalent in the west, which consists in ignoring a difficulty, or transforming it into a difficulty of precisely the opposite kind. There is a tradition surviving from the grasshopper time that illustrates the point. It is said that in the midst of that overwhelming disaster, when the pests were six inches deep in the streets, the editor of a certain local paper fined his comment on the situation down to a single line, which appeared among the trivial happenings of the week: "A grasshopper was seen on the court-house steps this morning." This type of humor, appreciated anywhere west of the Alleghanies, is the type *par excellence* in Kansas. Perhaps it has rained for six weeks in the spring. The wheat is seemingly ruined; no corn has been planted. The farmer, who sees his profits for the year wiped out, looks at the murky sky, sniffs the damp air, and remarks seriously, "Well, it looks like rain. We may save that crop yet." "Yes," his neighbor replies with equal seriousness, "but it will have to come soon, or it won't do any good." When misfortunes beat down upon one in rapid succession there comes a time when it is useless to strive against them and in the end they engender a certain detached curiosity in the victim, who finds a mournful pleasure in observing philosophical resignation the ultimate caprices of fate. Thus Kansans, "coiners of novel phrases to express defiance of destiny," have employed humor itself as a refuge against misfortune. They have learned not to endure adversity, but in a very literal sense to laugh at it as well.

I have already said that the type of individualism characteristic of America is one of achievement, not eccentricity. The statement will bear repeating in

connection, for it is truer of Kansas than of most communities, notwithstanding there is a notion abroad that the state is peopled by freaks and eccentrics. It was once popularly supposed in Europe, and perhaps is so yet, that Americans are all eccentric. Now, Kansans are eccentric in the same sense that Americans are: they differ somewhat from other Americans, just as Americans are distinguishable from Europeans. But a fundamental characteristic of Kansas individualism is the tendency to conform; it is an individualism of conformity, not of revolt. Having learned to endure to the end, they have learned to conform, for endurance is itself a kind of conformity. It has not infrequently been the subject of wondering comment by foreigners that in America, where every one is supposed to do as he pleases, there should nevertheless be so little danger from violence and insurrection. Certainly one reason is that while the conditions of frontier life release the individual from many of the formal restraints of ordered society, they exact a most rigid adherence to lines of conduct inevitably fixed by the stern necessities of life in a primitive community. On the frontier men soon learn to conform to what is regarded as essential, for the penalty of resistance or neglect is extinction: there the law of survival works surely and swiftly. However eccentric frontiersmen may appear to the tenderfoot, among themselves there is little variation from type in any essential matter. In the new community, individualism means the ability of the individual to succeed, not by submitting to some external formal authority, still less by following the bent of an unschooled will, but by recognizing and voluntarily adapting himself to necessary conditions. Kansas, it is true, has produced its eccentrics, but there is a saying here that freaks are raised for export only. In one sense the saying is true enough, for what strikes one particularly is that, on the whole, native Kansans are all so much alike.

It is a community of great solidarity, and to the native it is "the Easterner" who appears eccentric.

The conquest of the wilderness in Kansas has thus developed qualities of patience, of calm, stoical, good-humored endurance in the face of natural difficulties, of conformity to what is regarded as necessary. Yet the patience, the calmness, the disposition to conform, is strictly confined to what is regarded as in the natural course. If the Kansan appears stolid, it is only on the surface that he is so. The peculiar conditions of origin and history have infused into the character of the people a certain romantic and sentimental element. Beneath the placid surface there is something fermenting which is best left alone—a latent energy which trivial events or a resounding phrase may unexpectedly release. In a recent commencement address, Mr. Henry King said that conditions in early Kansas were "hair-triggered." Well, Kansans are themselves hair-triggered; slight pressure, if it be of the right sort, sets them off. "Every one is on the *qui vive*, alert, vigilant, like a sentinel at an outpost." This trait finds expression in the romantic devotion of the people to the state, in a certain alert sensitiveness to criticism from outside, above all in the contagious enthusiasm with which they will without warning espouse a cause, especially when symbolized by a striking phrase, and carry it to an issue. Insurgency is native in Kansas, and the political history of the state, like its climate, is replete with surprises that have made it "alternately the reproach and the marvel of mankind." But this apparent instability is only the natural complement of the extreme and confident individualism of the people: having succeeded in overcoming so many obstacles that were unavoidable, they do not doubt their ability to destroy quickly those that seem artificially constructed. It thus happens that while no people endure the reverses of nature with greater fortitude and good humor than the

people of Kansas, misfortunes seemingly of man's making arouse in them a veritable passion of resistance; the mere suspicion of injustice, real or fancied exploitation by those who fare sumptuously, the pressure of laws not self-imposed, touch something explosive in their nature that transforms a calm and practical people into excited revolutionists. Grasshoppers elicited only a witticism, but the "mortgage fiends" produced the Populist régime, a kind of religious crusade against the infidel Money Power. The same spirit was recently exhibited in the "Boss Busters" movement, which in one summer spread over the state like a prairie fire and overthrew an established machine supposed to be in control of the railroads. The "Higher Law" is still a force in Kansas. The spirit which refused to obey "bogus laws" is still easily stirred. A people which has endured the worst of nature's tyrannies, and cheerfully submits to tyrannies self-imposed, is in no mood to suffer hardships that seem remediable.

II

Idealism must always prevail on the frontier, for the frontier, whether geographical or intellectual, offers little hope to those who see things as they are. To venture into the wilderness, one must see it, not as it is, but as it will be. The frontier, being the possession of those only who see its future, is the promised land which cannot be entered save by those who have faith. America, having been such a promised land, is therefore inhabited by men of faith: idealism is ingrained in the character of its people. But as the frontier in America has hitherto been geographical and material, American idealism has necessarily a material basis, and Americans have often been mistakenly called materialists. True, they seem mainly interested in material things. Too often they represent values in terms

of money: a man is "worth" so much money; a university is a great university, having the largest endowment of any; a fine building is a building that cost a million dollars, better still, ten millions. Value is extensive rather than intensive or intrinsic. America is the best country because it is the biggest, the wealthiest, the most powerful; its people are the best because they are the freest, the most energetic, the *most* educated. But to see a materialistic temper in all this is to mistake the form for the spirit. The American cares for material things because they represent the substance of things hoped for. He cares less for money than for making money: a fortune is valued, not because it represents ease, but because it represents struggle, achievement, progress. The first skyscraper in any town is nothing in itself, but much as an evidence of growth; it is a white stone on the road to the ultimate goal.

Idealism of this sort is an essential ingredient of the Kansas spirit. In few communities is the word progress more frequently used, or its meaning less frequently detached from a material basis. It symbolizes the *summum bonum*, having become a kind of dogma. Mistakes are forgiven a man if he is progressive, but to be unprogressive is to be suspect; like Aristotle's non-political animal, the unprogressive is extra-human. This may explain why every Kansan wishes first of all to tell you that he comes from the town of X——, and then that it is the finest town in the state. He does not mean that it is strictly the finest town in the state, as will appear if you take the trouble to inquire a little about the country, its soil, its climate, its rainfall, and about the town itself. For it may chance that he is free to admit that it is hot there, that the soil is inclined to bake when there is no rain, that there is rarely any rain—all of which, however, is nothing to the point, because they are soon to have water by irrigation, which is, after all, much better than rainfall. And then

he describes the town, which you have no difficulty in picturing vividly: a single street flanked by nondescript wooden shops; at one end a railroad station, at the other a post-office; side streets lined with frame houses, painted or not, as the case may be; a school house somewhere, and a church with a steeple. It is such a town, to all appearances, as you may see by the hundred anywhere in the west—a dreary place which, you think, the world would willingly let die. But your man is enthusiastic; he can talk of nothing but the town of X——. The secret of his enthusiasm you at last discover in the inevitable “but it will be a great country some day,” and it dawns upon you that, after all, the man does not live in the dreary town of X——, but in the great country of *some day*. Such are Kansans. Like St. Augustine, they have their City of God, the idealized Kansas of some day: it is only necessary to have faith in order to possess it.

I cannot illustrate this aspect of Kansas idealism better than by quoting from Mrs. McCormick's little book of personal experience and observation. Having related the long years of struggle of a typical farmer, she imagines the Goddess of Justice revealing to him a picture of “the land as it shall be” when justice prevails.

“John beheld a great plain four hundred miles long and two hundred miles wide—a great agricultural state covered with farmers tilling the soil and with here and there a city or village. On every farm stood a beautiful house handsomely painted outside and elegantly furnished inside, and equipped with all modern conveniences helpful to housekeeping. Brussels carpets covered the floors, upholstered furniture and pianos ornamented the parlors, and the cheerful dining-room had elegant table linen, cut glass, and silverware. Reservoirs carried the water into the houses in the country the same as in the cities. The farmers' wives and daughters, instead of working like slaves without proper utensils or house furnishings, now had everything necessary to lighten work and make home attractive. They had the summer-

kitchen, the wash-house, houses for drying clothes, arbors, etc. The door-yards consisted of nicely fenced green lawns, wherein not a pig rooted nor mule browsed on the shrubbery nor hen wallowed in the flower-beds. Shade trees, hammocks, and rustic chairs were scattered about, and everything bespoke comfort. Great barns sheltered the stock. The farms were fenced and subdivided into fields of waving grain and pastures green."

This is what John is supposed to have seen on a summer's day when, at the close of a life of toil, he had just been sold up for debt. What John really saw had perhaps a less feminine coloring; but the picture represents the ideal, if not of an actual Kansas farmer, at least of an actual Kansas woman.

This aspect of American idealism is, however, not peculiar to Kansas: it is more or less characteristic of all western communities. But there is an element in Kansas idealism that marks it off as a state apart. The origin of Kansas must ever be associated with the struggle against slavery. Of this fact, Kansans are well aware. Kansas is not a community of which it can be said, "happy is the people without annals." It is a state with a past. It has a history of which its people are proud, and which they insist, as a matter of course, upon having taught in the public schools. There are Old Families in Kansas who know their place and keep it—sacred bearers of the traditions of the Kansas Struggle. The Kansas Struggle is for Kansas what the American Revolution is for New England; and while there is as yet no "Society of the Daughters of the Kansas Struggle," there doubtless will be some day. For the Kansas Struggle is regarded as the crucial point in the achievement of human liberty, very much as Macaulay is said to have regarded the Reform Bill as the end for which all history was only a preparation. For all true Kansans, the border wars of the early years have a perennial interest: they mark the spot where Jones shot Smith, direct the at-

tention of the traveler to the little village of Lecompton, or point with pride to some venerable tree bearing honorable scars dating from the Quantrill raid. Whether John Brown was an assassin or a martyr is a question which only a native can safely venture to answer with confidence. Recently, in a list of questions prepared for the examination of teachers in the schools, there appeared the following: "*What was the Andover Band?*" It seems that very few teachers knew what the Andover Band was; some thought it was an iron band, and some a band of Indians. The newspapers took it up, and it was found that, aside from some of the old families, ignorance of the Andover Band was quite general. When it transpired that the Andover Band had to do with the Kansas Struggle, the humiliation of the people was profound.

The belief that Kansas was founded for a cause distinguishes it, in the eyes of its inhabitants, as pre-eminently the home of freedom. It lifts the history of the state out of the commonplace of ordinary westward migration, and gives to the temper of the people a certain elevated and martial quality. The people of Iowa or Nebraska are well enough, but their history has never brought them in touch with cosmic processes. The Pilgrims themselves are felt to have been actuated by less noble and altruistic motives. The Pilgrims, says Thayer, "fled from oppression, and sought in the new world 'freedom to worship God.'" But the Kansas emigrants migrated "to meet, to resist, and to destroy oppression, in vindication of their principles. These were self-sacrificing emigrants, the others were self-seeking. Justice, though tardy in its work, will yet load with the highest honors, the memory of the Kansas pioneers who gave themselves and all they had to the sacred cause of human rights."

This may smack of prejudice, but it is no heresy in Kansas. The trained and disinterested physiocratic his-



which mark this transition in its political aspects, were in some measure the liberalized heirs of Federalism.

But the old Federalism did not live to profit by this change; it had feared western influence because it was itself essentially aristocratic and exclusive; its creed was too harsh to spread, and the growth of the west involved its downfall.

HOMER C. HOCKETT.

Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska—the great majority of the voters looked upon the term “Democrat” as practically synonymous with “rebel” or “Copperhead,” and the party which was thus handicapped could not be expected to make much headway for many years to come. There was, however, considerable opposition to the dominant Republicans in this section during the decade of the seventies, and almost of necessity much of this opposition took the form of third parties. The first movement in this direction was the organization of the Liberal Republican party, which won some victories in Missouri, but the presidential election of 1872 demonstrated that this was a party of leaders rather than of the people. Following closely on the heels of the failure of this movement, there appeared a series of “Independent” parties which were, on the other hand, distinctly popular in their origin, and were able to make a considerable showing in the elections, though receiving little support from prominent politicians of the old school.²

These “Independent” parties have received very little consideration from historical writers, and there has been a tendency to look upon them as merely preliminaries leading up to the organization of the National Greenback party. This tendency is a natural one in view of the fact that in one or two states the “Independent” organization did affiliate with the Greenback party. In other states, however, the platforms of the “Independent” parties specifically rejected the Greenback policy, and an examination of the movement in all of the states in which it ap-

² That this movement attracted considerable attention among the politicians of the country is evident from President Grant's fifth annual message to Congress, dated December 1, 1873, which contains the statement that “political partisanship has almost ceased to exist, especially in the agricultural regions.” Just what meaning the president intended to convey by these words and whether or no he looked upon the situation as one to be deplored, is difficult to determine.

peared makes it clear that its causes are to be sought primarily, not in the desire for a fiat currency, but in two other factors which have no connection with the old issues of war time. The first of these factors is the growing demand for the regulation of railway charges by the state, and closely related to this is the second—the rapid organization of the agricultural population of the west into clubs and granges.

Prior to about 1870 there was little thought of public control of railroads; they were looked upon as blessings to the country, the extension of which should be encouraged rather than checked by subjecting them to any interference. It was generally supposed that competition would prove an efficient regulator, and so the demand was for more railroads, and hence for more competition, rather than for control by the state. During the period of rapid railway expansion which followed the war, however, it began to be evident that the regulating force of competition could easily be nullified by consolidations and agreements, and that serious evils were developing in the management of railroads—evils which were injurious to large groups of people, and which could be checked only by the interposition of the state. In particular were there complaints that freight rates on agricultural products were too high to leave the farmer a fair return for his labor, and that invidious discriminations in rates were made between shippers and between places.⁴ The result was a growing de-

⁴ The nature and causes of these evils in railway construction and management, and the way in which they affected the farmers, are more fully developed in a forthcoming monograph by the writer on *The Granger Movement*. Of the many works which cover the railroad problem in this period, the following are perhaps the most useful: Adams, C. F., Jr., *Railroads, Their Origins and Problems*; Cook, W. W., *The Corporation Problem*; Hudson, J. F., *The Railways and the Republic*; Johnson, E. R., *American Railway Transportation*; Larrabee, W., *The Railroad Question*; Ringwalt, J. L., *Development of Transportation Systems in the United*

mand, especially on the part of the farmers, for legislation to regulate the charges of railroads, a demand which the dominant Republican party was not inclined to heed.

Partly as a result of the railway situation, a movement for agricultural organization was spreading like a prairie fire over the states of the west. In 1867 the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry was established in Washington by a number of government clerks who were interested in improving the social and intellectual conditions of the farmers of the country.⁵ The first state grange was established in Minnesota in 1869, but the order did not make much headway until about 1872, when it began to advocate government regulation of railroad rates, and to establish co-operative enterprises for the purpose of eliminating the profits of the middlemen. From that time on, however, the growth of the Grange, as it was generally called, was phenomenal: by May, 1873, there were almost three thousand local granges in the North Central states, about half of which were in the state of Iowa; and by September, 1874, there were twelve thousand local granges in these states and twenty thousand in the country at large. Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri had each about two thousand granges, while Ohio, Illinois, and Kansas had over a thousand apiece, and as the average membership of a grange was from fifty to seventy-five, it will be seen that a large proportion of the western farmers were connected with the order.

The Patrons of Husbandry was an organization professedly non-political in character, but that did not prevent

*States; Stickney, A. B., The Railroad Problem; and the report of the Win-
dom Committee of the United States Senate (43 Cong., 1 sess., Senate Re-
ports, No. 307).*

⁵ The idea of the order originated in the brain of one Oliver H. Kelley, a clerk in the agricultural bureau, and later in the post-office department. Kelley's book, *Origin and Progress of the Patrons of Husbandry*, gives the early history of the order.

it from taking a decided stand on questions of public policy, and especially upon the railroad question, while in some states the local granges took part in the organization of new political parties.⁶ On the whole, however, the leaders of the order were able to keep it from participating directly in partisan politics, but there were also a large number of non-secret and more or less independent farmers' clubs which grew up side by side with the granges, and the union of these local clubs into state farmers' associations paved the way for the establishment of the "Independent" parties in a number of states.⁷ This was particularly the case in Illinois, in which state the movement for a new political party, with railroad regulation as its principal plank, first came to a head. There the agitation for restrictive railroad laws had been going on with more or less intensity ever since 1865, and finally in 1870 its advocates succeeded in incorporating mandatory provisions in the new constitution which directed the legislature to enact laws to prevent extortion and unjust discrimination in railway charges. The general assembly of 1871 responded with a series of so-called "Granger laws," one of which was declared contrary to the constitution by the state supreme court in January, 1873, because it prohibited not merely unjust discrimination, but all discrimination in railway charges.⁸

In the same month in which this decision was handed

⁶ The "Declaration of Principles" adopted by the National Grange in February, 1874, asserted "that the Grange . . . is not a political or party organization. No Grange, if true to its obligations, can discuss political or religious questions, nor call political conventions, nor nominate candidates, nor even discuss their merits in its meetings." *National Grange, Proceedings of the Seventh Session*, p. 58.

⁷ The files of the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Prairie Farmer* for 1873 and 1874 contain a large amount of information about these organizations.

⁸ Gordon, J. H., *Illinois Railway Legislation and Commission Control since 1870* (Univ. of Ill., *Studies*, I., No. 6), pp. 25-40; Paine, A. E., *The Granger Movement in Illinois* (*ibid.*, No. 7), pp. 20-24; Moses, John,

down by Chief Justice Lawrence, the State Farmers' Association of Illinois was organized. It immediately adopted a series of radical resolutions on the transportation question, and asserted "that the power of this and all local organizations should be wielded at the ballot-box, by the election of such and only such, persons as sympathize with us in this movement."⁹ The legislature was in session at this time, and was considering a revision of the railroad laws to overcome the objections of the supreme court.¹⁰ In order to insure the enactment of effective laws on this subject, the executive committee of the newly organized State Farmers' Association issued a call for a "State Farmers' Convention," to be held at Springfield, the capital city, April 2, 1873, "for the purpose of attending to our interests in the Legislature, and of giving that body and the Governor to understand that we *mean business* and are no longer to be trifled with; and that while we have no disposition to infringe upon the rights of others, we demand that protection at their hands from the intolerable wrongs now inflicted upon us by the railroads which they have a constitutional right to give us."¹¹

The principal work of this convention, which was opened with speeches by Governor Beveridge and ex-Governor Palmer, was the adoption of a series of resolutions setting forth its ideas concerning railroad legislation, but these

Illinois, Historical and Statistical, II., pp. 801, 1059-1061. The decision of the supreme court is in 67 *Illinois*, p. 11.

⁹ *Prairie Farmer*, XLIII., pp. 316, 364; XLIV., pp. 9, 12, 25 (October, 1872-January, 1873); *Chicago Tribune*, 1873, January 16, p. 4, January 17, p. 8, January 18, p. 2; Perriam, Jonathan, *The Groundswell*, pp. 232-262.

¹⁰ *Illinois, Senate and House Journals*, 1873. The pages of the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Prairie Farmer* at this time are filled with resolutions of farmers' meetings on the railroad question. For a sample, see resolutions of a Livingston county convention of farmers, in *Chicago Tribune*, January 10, 1873, p. 5.

¹¹ *Prairie Farmer*, XLIV., p. 100 (March 29, 1873); *Chicago Tribune*, March 21, 1873, p. 2.

were followed by other resolutions relating to navigation on the inland lakes and the protective tariff, which furnish the first important indication that the movement was to spread out from an agitation for railroad regulation into a full-fledged political party, with views to express on a variety of questions. These resolutions, which were said to be the result of efforts of Democratic politicians to capture the movement and of railroad men to nullify it by throwing the blame for high charges upon the policy of protection, met with considerable opposition in the convention on the ground that the farmers should concentrate their efforts upon the question of railroad regulation; and the next day a rump composed of about one hundred of the delegates to the convention held a meeting, at which the resolutions in question were reconsidered and laid on the table.¹² Despite this split in the ranks, the work of this convention on the railroad problem and the sustained agitation on the part of the farmers finally bore fruit in the passage by the legislature, May 2, 1873, of a new act for the regulation of railroads, more radical and more effective than the laws of 1871.

The first attempt of the farmers of Illinois to take part as an organized body in the election of public officers appears to have been a result of the decision of Chief Justice Lawrence on the constitutionality of the railroad law of 1871. The idea was gaining ground that the farmers must control the courts as well as the legislature if they were to secure any solid results, and the judicial elections of June, 1873, seemed to them a good opportunity for making a beginning in that direction. Particularly was that the case in the fifth district, where the term of the chief justice himself was about to expire. Lawrence was

¹² *Prairie Farmer*, XLIV., pp. 114, 123 (April, 1873); *Chicago Tribune*, 1873, April 2, p. 8, April 4, p. 8; *American Annual Cyclopedic*, 1873, p. 367; Perriam, J., *The Groundswell*, pp. 280-291.

renominated by means of a petition widely signed by the lawyers of the district, but the farmers, who felt that he was not in sympathy with their interests, held a convention at Princeton in April and nominated Honorable Alfred M. Craig for the position. No pledges were exacted of the nominee, but he had shown himself favorable to the regulation of corporations by his action in the constitutional convention of 1869-1870. The convention which nominated him also adopted a series of resolutions demanding such action by the legislature and the courts as would make effective the railroad provisions of the constitution, declaring an intention to support no one whose sentiments were not in accord with those of the farmers in these matters, and recommending to the "anti-monopolists" of the state the nomination of candidates for the judicial positions in the various districts.¹³

This advice was followed by the farmers of the second district, the only other one in which a supreme court vacancy occurred at this time, and in eight or nine of the twenty-six circuits of the state, in each of which a judge was to be elected; while in many of the other districts one or more of the candidates openly declared themselves in sympathy with the farmers' views.¹⁴ The election which followed first displayed to the astonished politicians of the country the political possibilities of the movement; for in nearly every instance the candidate nominated or favored by the farmers was elected, even Chief Justice Lawrence being defeated by a large majority in spite of a vigorous campaign waged in his behalf. These victories provoked

¹³ *Prairie Farmer*, XLIV., p. 153 (May 17, 1873); Perriam, *The Groundswell*, pp. 312-316. Many of the local clubs and granges ratified the nomination of Craig, but in one or two cases they indorsed Lawrence. See *Prairie Farmer*, XLIV., p. 266 (May 31, 1873); *Chicago Tribune*, May 15, 1873, p. 1; Paine, *Granger Movement in Illinois*, p. 35, note.

¹⁴ *Prairie Farmer*, XLIV., p. 153 (May 17, 1873); *Chicago Tribune*, May, 1873, *passim*; Perriam, *The Groundswell*, pp. 312-316.

a storm of criticism from the conservative press, especially in the east, and the movement was denounced as an attempt to pack the judiciary in the interests of a class.¹⁵ Given an elective judiciary, however, it is difficult to see how the voters can justly be blamed for casting their ballots for candidates who were expected to uphold what they believed to be their rights.¹⁶

Greatly encouraged by the success which had been won and nothing daunted by the adverse criticism incurred, the farmers of Illinois threw themselves with vigor into the campaign for the election of county officers in the fall. Even before the judicial elections had taken place, a movement was started in Livingston county to put a farmers' ticket in the field for the fall elections. May 31, 1873, the committee-men representing the different townships in the county farmers' association, adopted a platform or declaration of principles which so well expressed the sentiments of farmers throughout the state that it was adopted or indorsed by farmers' meetings in many other counties. The preamble to this document asserted the failure of the old parties, declared in favor of a new political organization, and invited the co-operation of all other classes in carrying out the declaration of principles. The platform which followed expressed opposition to "railroad steals, tariff steals, salary-grab steals," approved the control by law of railway corporations, denounced taxation for the benefit of special classes, favored equal privileges for all in the banking system, "so that supply and demand shall regulate our money market," opposed further grants of public lands to corporations, and favored "a true system

¹⁵ *Nation*, XVI., pp. 393, 397 (June 12, 1873); *Prairie Farmer*, XLIV., p. 185 (June 14, 1873); *Chicago Tribune*, 1873, June 6, p. 4, June 21, p. 8; Perriam, *sup. cit.*, pp. 312-316.

¹⁶ Lawrence was later attorney for the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad in litigation over the Granger law of Wisconsin. *Industrial Age* (Chicago), June 6, 1875, p. 4.

of civil service reform" and the application of the principle "that the office should seek the man and not the man the office."¹⁷

The adoption of this declaration was followed by the appointment of a committee to call a convention of farmers and all others in sympathy with them to nominate candidates for county officers. This action received the approval of Secretary Smith of the State Farmers' Association and similar steps were taken in other counties.¹⁸ A great impetus was given to the movement by the celebrations on Independence Day, of what was widely known as the "Farmers' Fourth of July." At the suggestion of the executive committee of the State Farmers' Association this day was made the occasion of numerous and well attended gatherings of farmers in nearly every county in the state. At the most of these meetings an important part of the program was the reading of the new "Farmers' Declaration of Independence," which was circulated by the association. This document was a skillful parody on the original Declaration of Independence, and set forth at great length the conditions which had led to the uprising of the agricultural class. It concluded by declaring the farmers absolutely independent of all past political connections, and by pledging them to give their suffrage to such men only as would use their best endeavors to promote the desired ends.¹⁹ This declaration was solemnly read at hundreds

¹⁷ *Prairie Farmer*, XLIV., p. 187 (June 14, 1873); *Chicago Tribune*, June 3, 1873, pp. 2, 4; *Industrial Age*, August 20, 1873, p. 7. For indorsements of the declaration, see *Chicago Tribune*, June-August, 1873, *passim*.

¹⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, June, 1873, *passim*; *Industrial Age*, August 20, 1873, pp. 4, 7.

¹⁹ *Prairie Farmer*, XLIV., p. 196 (June 21, 1873); *Chicago Tribune*, June 16, 1873, p. 1. The declaration is printed in full in *Prairie Farmer*, XLIV., p. 217 (July 12, 1873), and in *Chicago Tribune*, June 17, 1873, p. 2. Some extracts from this curious document may not be out of place:

of gatherings in Illinois and in some of the neighboring states, and the customary spread-eagle oratory by local politicians gave way to earnest discussions of political topics by the farmers themselves, and fiery addresses by leaders of the movement, such as that by the Honorable S. M. Smith, the secretary of the State Farmers' Association, at Pontiac in Livingston county.²⁰

Thus the enthusiasm of the farmers for their cause was wrought up, and numerous picnics and harvest festivals,²¹ together with the many regular meetings of local clubs and granges, kept it at a fever heat throughout the summer; the political results being seen when county after county fell into line, held conventions, and nominated farmers'

"When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for a class of the people, suffering from long continued systems of oppression and abuse, to rouse themselves from an apathetic indifference to their own interests, which has become habitual . . . a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to a course so necessary to their own protection."

Then follows a statement of "self-evident truths" and a catalogue of the sins committed by the railroads, together with a denunciation of railroads and congresses for not having redressed these evils. The document concludes:

"We, therefore, the producers of the state in our several counties assembled . . . do solemnly declare that we will use all lawful and peaceable means to free ourselves from the tyranny of monopoly, and that we will never cease our efforts for reform until every department of our government gives token that the reign of licentious extravagance is over, and something of the purity, honesty, and frugality with which our fathers inaugurated it, has taken its place.

"That to this end we hereby declare ourselves absolutely free and independent of all past political connections, and that we will give our suffrage only to such men for office, as we have good reason to believe will use their best endeavors to the promotion of these ends; and for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

²⁰ *Prairie Farmer*, XLIV., pp. 217, 220, 225 (July 12, 19, 1873); *Chicago Tribune*, July, 1873, *passim*.

²¹ *Prairie Farmer*, XLIV., p. 244 (August 2, 1873); *Chicago Tribune*, 1873, August 7, pp. 1, 2, 4, August 22, p. 1.

tickets for the fall elections. The procedure in organizing the new party in most of the counties was similar to that in Livingston, already described,²² and the platforms adopted were generally similar to the Livingston county declaration of principles, though in some instances they contained more outspoken denunciation of the protective tariff. The completeness with which old party lines were broken up by this movement is seen in the fact that in some counties one party and in others the opposite party, either openly joined the "Reformers" or refrained from making separate nominations.²³

Of the one hundred and two counties of the state, independent nominations were made by the new party in sixty-six, while in many of the other counties the candidates of one or the other of the old parties were acceptable to the farmers. The returns of the elections, which took place early in November, showed the farmers' or "Anti-Monopoly" tickets victorious in fifty-three of the sixty-six counties in which they were in the field, while Republican candidates were elected in sixteen, Democratic in twenty, and independents in thirteen of the remaining counties of the state.²⁴ The total vote in the sixty-six counties contested by the new party was 176,263, of which the "Reform" candidates received 94,188, leaving 82,075 to all the other candidates; and it was calculated that the same ratio carried throughout the state would have given the party a majority in a state election of twenty-two thousand over all.²⁵ In estimating this election, the results of which were

²² For examples, see *Chicago Tribune*, 1873, June 25, p. 1, August 2, p. 1.

²³ This was generally, but not always, the party which had previously been in a minority in the county. See *Chicago Tribune*, August, 1873, *passim*.

²⁴ These figures are based on votes for county treasurers, who appear to have been the most important officials elected in the several counties.

²⁵ For returns and classification of counties, see: *Industrial Age*, 1873, November 8, pp. 4, 5, November 15, pp. 3, 6; *Chicago Tribune*, 1873, Octo-

more favorable to the new party than any other in which it took part, the fact must be taken into consideration that it was for local officers, and that, in general, party politics play a less important part in local than in state elections. The "Reformers" were to find their party unable to retain these handsome majorities when it entered the broader field of state politics, because many voters, while willing to cast their ballots for neighbors running on an "Anti-Monopoly" ticket, were likely, when it was a question of unknown candidates for state offices, to return to their old party allegiance.

Meanwhile similar movements were getting under way in Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, which resulted in state "Anti-Monopoly" or "Reform" parties in the general elections in the fall of 1873. The political situations in these three states were strikingly similar. In each the Republican party was in complete control; in each a growing demand for railroad regulation was being reflected in messages and addresses of the governor, and in numerous bills before the legislature; and in each the farmers were being rapidly organized into granges of the Patrons of Husbandry. The outcome was the organization of new parties which took the name of "Reform" in Wisconsin, and "Anti-Monopoly" in Iowa and Minnesota; and in each case the Democratic party either fused with or accepted the candidates of the new party. The method of getting the movement under way was about the same in the three states: the farmers and Grangers in the different counties got together during the summer in meetings "outside the gate" and nominated candidates for county and legislative offices; after which calls were issued, either by one of these local meetings, or by self-constituted leaders of the move-

ber 20, p. 4, November 6, p. 1, November 10, p. 5, November 19, p. 4; *Prairie Farmer*, XLIV., pp. 361, 363, 371, 379 (November, 1873); *Amer. Annual Cyclo.*, 1873, p. 368; *World Almanac*, 1874, p. 23.

ment, for state conventions, which were held in Iowa at Des Moines, August 13, in Minnesota at Owatonna, September 2, and in Wisconsin at Milwaukee, September 23.²⁶

In Iowa the state central committee of the Democratic party decided to hold no convention, and issued an address advising Democrats to support the Anti-Monopoly ticket.²⁷ In Minnesota the Democratic convention was held and adopted a platform, but indorsed the nominees of the new party.²⁸ In Wisconsin the Democratic convention met in Milwaukee the day after the Reformers came together, and the two conventions agreed upon a fusion ticket and adopted a joint platform.²⁹ All three of the platforms adopted by these new parties declared for the regulation of railroads or, putting it more generally, for the subjection of corporations to the authority of the state. Reduction of the tariff to a revenue basis, lower salaries for public officials, and a more economical administration of the government, were also demanded by each platform. In no case did these platforms contain planks favorable to the Greenback idea, while the Wisconsin platform contained a declaration that the public debt should be honestly paid, and in Minnesota the platform adopted by the Democratic convention, which indorsed the Anti-Monopoly nom-

²⁶ The summary in this and the following paragraphs is based on a study of legislative journals, governors' messages, party platforms, and the files of the *Chicago Tribune*, *Prairie Farmer*, and local papers. Information concerning parties and elections, including the platforms in full, can usually be found in the *American* (after 1874, *Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia* under the name of the state. The Owatonna platform of the Minnesota Anti-Monopolists, which is not given in the *Cyclopedia*, is in Martin, E. W. (pseudonym for J. D. McCabe), *History of the Grange Movement*, pp. 510-513.

²⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, September 2, 1873, p. 1.

²⁸ *Amer. Annual Cyclo.*, 1873, p. 511.

²⁹ *Chicago Tribune*, August-September, 1873, *passim*; *Industrial Age*, September 6, 1873, p. 5.

inees, declared for a speedy return to specie payment. It early became evident that large numbers of Republicans were going into the new party movement in these states, and the Republican politicians made frantic efforts to counteract it. Fortunately for them, the Republican governors in each state had advocated railroad regulation, and these governors were all renominated on platforms which expressed great concern for the welfare of the farmers, and which contained planks favoring the regulation of railroads by the state.

The campaigns which followed were spirited, and the new parties achieved some surprising results. In Iowa the Anti-Monopoly committee suffered from a lack of campaign funds, and the Republican state ticket was elected, but its majority, which had been sixty thousand the year before, was cut down to about twenty thousand, and it was claimed that the fact of Governor Carpenter being himself a prominent Patron, and his pledge to favor the farmers' policy, were all that prevented an Anti-Monopoly victory. The district elections resulted in a legislature composed of thirty-four Republican and sixteen opposition senators, with fifty of each party in the lower house.⁸⁰ As a result of this tie, a long struggle ensued over the organization of the House of Representatives, in the course of which, the seventy members who were also Patrons held a meeting and tried to unite on a Grange candidate for speaker, but found that they too were equally divided into Republicans and opposition. This shows clearly that a large proportion of the Grange element had not gone definitely into the Anti-Monopoly party. The deadlock was finally broken after 140 ballots by a compromise, according to which the Republicans got the speakership and

⁸⁰ *Chicago Tribune*, November 8, 1873, p. 2; *Industrial Age*, 1873, October 18, p. 4, November 8, p. 6, November 15, p. 5; *American Agriculturist*, (N. Y.), XXXII., p. 439 (November, 1873).

the opposition the other officers, and the control of a number of committees.²¹

In Minnesota the outcome was somewhat the same. The Republican majority for the head of the ticket was reduced from the usual fifteen or twenty thousand, to about five thousand, and the Anti-Monopoly candidates for secretary of state and treasurer were elected, while the Republican majority in the lower house of the legislature was reduced to two. Moreover, a considerable number of the members of the legislature elected as Republicans were also Grangers, and in favor of state regulation of railroads.²²

It was in Wisconsin, however, that the most startling results were achieved. The campaign in that state developed a peculiar alignment of interests. Governor Washburn, who was renominated by the Republicans, had frequently recommended legislation for the regulation of railroads, and in other ways incurred the enmity of the railroad interests. As a consequence much of the railroad influence was exerted in favor of Taylor, the Reform candidate, whose principles were not so well known as those of Washburn, apparently with the idea of putting him under obligation to these interests. Another factor in the election was the Graham liquor law, passed by a Republican legislature, which imposed serious restrictions on the liquor traffic, and resulted in turning the powerful brewery interests of the state, as well as a large part of the foreign vote, to the new Reform party. Then, of course, the order of

²¹ Iowa, *House Journal*, 1874, pp. 3-48; *Chicago Tribune*, January, 1874, *passim*; *Industrial Age*, 1874, January 24, p. 3, February 7, p. 6.

²² *Chicago Tribune*, May, 1873-January, 1874, *passim*; *Industrial Age*, September 6, 1873, p. 4; *Prairie Farmer*, XLIV., p. 291 (September 13, 1873); Martin, E. W., *Grange Movement*, pp. 510-513; Smith, Stephen, *Grains for the Grangers*, pp. 233-236; Neill, E. D., *History of Minnesota*, 4th ed., pp. 760-763; *Amer. Annual Cyclo.*, 1873, pp. 510-513.

For the attitude of the Patrons of Husbandry toward this political movement in Minnesota, see the *Farmers' Union* (Minneapolis), 1873, pp. 172, 194, 197, 218, 243, 261, 269, 276, 279, 285, 356 (May-November, 1873).

Patrons of Husbandry was a factor in the election, and it seems probable that the major part, though by no means all, of the "Granger vote" was cast for the Democratic-Reform ticket. Although Wisconsin was normally Republican by large majorities, this "unholy alliance" of the railroad interests and the liquor interests with the Granger movement was sufficient to turn the scale and bring about the election of Taylor and the whole fusion ticket of state officers. The Democrats and Reformers also secured a majority of twenty in the lower house of the legislature, though the Republicans retained a majority of one in the Senate.⁸³

In Kansas and Nebraska there were no state elections in 1873, but Independent or farmers' tickets were put in the field in a number of counties; and in Kansas the result was the election of a sufficient number of Independents or Reformers to give the opposition to the Republican party a majority of about twenty in the lower house of the legislature. This was sufficient to over-balance the strongly Republican hold-over Senate, and made possible the election of ex-Governor Harvey, a farmer and a Reformer, to the United States Senate.⁸⁴ In California also, the new party movement first made its appearance in a struggle to control the legislature elected in 1873. The Republican party here was believed by many to be under the influence of the Central Pacific Railroad, and a large number of Republicans led by Governor Newton Booth, broke

⁸³ *Prairie Farmer*, XLIV., p. 379 (November 29, 1873); *Chicago Tribune*, October, 1873-January, 1874, *passim*; *Industrial Age*, November, 1873, *passim*; Wisconsin, *Legislative Manual*, 1874, pp. 325, 348; *Amer. Annual Cyclo.*, 1873, pp. 774-776; Lea, C. W., *Granger Movement in Wisconsin* (Univ. of Wis., MS. thesis, 1895), p. 20; Tuttle, C. R., *Illustrated History of the State of Wisconsin*, p. 642; Peck, G. W., ed., *Wisconsin in Cyclopedic Form*, p. 183.

⁸⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, June, 1873-February, 1874, *passim*; *Industrial Age*, 1873, November 8, p. 4, November 15, p. 5; Andreas, *Illustrated History of the State of Kansas*, p. 264.

away from the party organization and supported Anti-Monopoly or Reform tickets in the various districts. The result of the election was a legislature composed of thirty-seven Republicans, forty-two Democrats, and forty-one Reformers, but many members elected as Republicans or Democrats were opposed to the railroad monopoly. The principal business of this legislature was the election of two United States senators, and a long struggle finally terminated in the election of Governor Booth for the long term, and of John S. Hager, an "anti-railroad Democrat," for the short term.⁸⁵

During the year 1874 state Reform or Anti-Monopoly parties were organized in all these states, and in some other states as well. Even in Ohio there were a few local efforts in the fall of 1873 looking toward the organization of farmers' or workingmen's parties,⁸⁶ but these came to naught, probably owing to a vigorous revival, which took place in the Democratic party in the state at this time. In Indiana, on the other hand, similar local meetings in the fall of 1873, at which former party bonds were declared to be severed, finally led up to the calling of a state convention of Independents, which met at Indianapolis, June 10, 1874, and nominated candidates for state offices. The platform here adopted differed from those of the Reform parties in the other states in that its principal plank was a demand, not for railroad regulation, but for the issue of greenbacks interchangeable with government bonds and the payment of the government debt in legal tender. Two of the nominees of this convention re-

⁸⁵ *Chicago Tribune*, December 22, 1873, p. 4, January 23, 1874, p. 3; *Industrial Age*, 1873, October 18, p. 4, December 27, p. 4; California State Grange, *Proceedings at Organization* (July, 1873); Carr, E. S., *Patrons of Husbandry on the Pacific Coast*, pp. 75-103, 131-153; *Amer. Annual Cyclo.*, 1873, p. 83.

⁸⁶ *Chicago Tribune*, 1873, June 9, p. 1, June 18, p. 5.

majorities. The Republicans regained complete control of the legislature, however, in both states and repealed the Granger railroad law of Wisconsin in 1876, the Iowa Granger law meeting the same fate two years later. The presidential campaign of 1876 put an end to the Independent movement in both of these states.⁵³ In Minnesota a "Reform" party, which seems to have had no direct connection with the Anti-Monopoly party of 1873, although probably composed of about the same men, put a ticket in the field in 1875 against both Republicans and Democrats, but secured less than two thousand votes, and did not appear again.⁵⁴

There was an election for congressman in Oregon in 1875 and the Independent party again had a candidate in the field, but he received only about eight thousand votes. In the legislature which was elected in June, 1876, there were also a few Independents in both houses, but the presidential election in the fall probably put an end to the movement here also.⁵⁵ Nor does the People's Reform party of California appear to have kept up its organization after 1875, although many of the Grangers and others who belonged to it cast in their lot with the "Workingmen's party," which was organized by the followers of Dennis Kearney in 1877 and played a considerable part in California politics until 1880.⁵⁶

As a result of this survey of western state and local politics from 1873 to 1876, it appears that Independent, Reform, or Anti-Monopoly parties were organized in

⁵³ *Wisconsin Statesman* (Madison), 1875, September 18, p. 3, November 13, p. 2, 1876, March 11, p. 1, March 25, p. 1; *Appleton's Annual Cyclo.*, 1875, pp. 402, 763, 1876, pp. 413-415, 806-808.

⁵⁴ *Appleton's Annual Cyclo.*, 1875, pp. 509-511.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 1875, p. 609; *Wisconsin Statesman*, July 10, 1875, p. 3.

⁵⁶ Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, II., chap. xc.; Andrews, E. Benj., *The Last Quarter Century*, I., chap. xiii.; Bancroft, H. H., *California*, VII., pp. 335-412.

eleven states—Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, California, and Oregon. In some of these states, as in Wisconsin and Iowa, the new parties secured victories, including the election of the state ticket in Wisconsin, by coalescing with the Democrats and forming a new party of opposition to the dominant Republicans. In other states, as in Oregon and in part in Illinois, they maintained their independence of the old parties and secured local victories over both of them, and in three states—Illinois, Kansas, and California—they secured the election of “Reformers” to the United States Senate.⁵⁷

The purpose and character of this Independent movement can best be determined by an examination of the platforms adopted. In all of the states, except Indiana and Michigan, these contained planks demanding the subjection of corporations and especially railroad corporations to the control of the state, and in several states regulation of all monopolies was demanded. It was thus an “anti-monopoly” movement, and in this direction the Granger laws were its principal achievement. Though most of these laws were subsequently repealed, still they definitely established the right of a state to regulate railroad charges and pointed the way for all future legislation on this important subject. But it was more than an “anti-monopoly” movement—it was also a “reform” movement. Every platform adopted by the new parties in all of the states denounced corruption in government and demanded reform, economy, and reduction of taxation, and several of the platforms contained specific demands for “civil service reform.” In this direction the movement seems to have been

⁵⁷ The *Biographical Congressional Directory* lists Harvey of Kansas as a Republican, but Booth of California is described as an “Antimonopolist” and Hager of the same state as an “Antimonopoly Democrat,” while Davis of Illinois is listed as “elected . . . by the votes of Independents and Democrats.”

to make them appear injurious to everybody, but most of all because of the financial depression which followed the panic of 1873. Moreover, in many parts of the west the people still desired the construction of more railroad lines and there was a feeling that this would be checked by restrictive legislation.⁶⁰

Again, it seems to be true, on the whole, that no political party can survive a presidential campaign without a national organization. The appearance of the National Greenback party and its absorption of the Independent Reform organization in Illinois, where the movement had been the most promising, practically barred the way to the organization of a National Reform party for the campaign of 1876. Large numbers of the Independents, not only in the states where the parties had declared for sound money but in Illinois and Indiana as well, could not reconcile themselves to the Greenback doctrine and as a result most of the wandering sheep returned to the Democratic or Republican folds. The fundamental cause for the failure of the movement, however, seems to have been the same as that which has caused the failure of every third-party movement in the United States since the Civil War—the innate political conservatism of the bulk of the American people. Although recognizing that the issues which originally divided the old parties have largely passed away, they prefer, even though it may be a somewhat slower process, to bring forward the new issues and to work out the desired reforms in the established parties rather than to attempt to displace them with new organizations.

SOLON JUSTUS BUCK.

⁶⁰ The unsatisfactory operation of the Granger laws was also a factor in bringing about the co-incident decline of the Patrons of Husbandry and the other agricultural organizations. The Grange was also discredited by the failure of most of its co-operative enterprises, and during the years 1875-1877 it declined almost to extinction in the western states.

VIRGINIA AND THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION, 1840-1844

FOR the spirit with which it was conducted, the surprises which it developed, and the importance of its results, the campaign in Virginia to name John Tyler's successor to the presidency has scarcely a parallel. It lasted four years and was, during the greater part of the time, a four-cornered contest waged by the respective friends of Henry Clay, John Tyler, Martin Van Buren, and John C. Calhoun. It resulted in the repudiation of two native sons, Tyler and Clay, in a temporary breach in the political alliance between Virginia and New York, in making continental expansion a great national issue, and last but not least, it was largely instrumental in effectively blighting the long-cherished presidential hopes of John C. Calhoun.

Before the results of the election of 1840 were fully known, except to warrant the claims of an overwhelming victory for the Whigs, Thomas Ritchie¹ of the *Richmond*

¹ Thomas Ritchie was born at Tappahannock, Essex County, Virginia, November 5, 1778, and died July 12, 1854. He was the son of Archibald Ritchie, a Scotch merchant. By application of his fine natural abilities young Ritchie acquired a good education. His tastes ran to literature and to subjects pertaining to politics and economics. In 1804 he became editor of the *Richmond Enquirer*, formerly the *Examiner*, in which position he remained until 1845, when he went to Washington to become editor of the *Union*, the mouthpiece of Polk's administration. After Polk retired from the presidency Ritchie continued to edit the *Union* until 1852, when he was practically forced to retire to restore accord in the Democratic party. In Virginia Ritchie was known as the "Napoleon of the press," and he there exercised a power in politics surpassed only by that of such leaders as Jefferson and Madison. After 1830 he had scarcely a peer among the Democratic leaders of his native state. Although a state-rights politician of the most uncompromising character,

Thomas Ritchie, of the *Richmond Enquirer*, and Andrew Stevenson, ex-speaker of the national House of Representatives, were friendly to the candidacy of Van Buren, but were not, for obvious reasons, enthusiastic in his support. As has already been seen, the Democrats and former state-rights Whigs of eastern Virginia, many of whom were friends of Calhoun, had just restored Ritchie to his place of influence in his party. Only base ingratitude or extreme narrowness of political vision, neither of which were characteristic of him, could have induced Ritchie to turn abruptly against these friends. Until late in the contest his peculiar relations with each faction and the extreme necessity for discretion influenced the columns of the *Enquirer*. More than once W. H. Roane wrote to Silas Wright of the "narrow place" in which Mr. Ritchie found himself, and of the handicap which his necessitated inactivity placed upon their plans in Virginia.⁵⁹ His desire to be either governor of Virginia or vice-president of the United States, and his willingness to make political alliances which would promote one or the other of these ambitions, kept Stevenson from taking sides. It is not improbable that his ambition was a factor with Ritchie. They were "old cronies," and Ritchie thought that the party should vindicate Stevenson against the recent attacks made upon his conduct as minister of the United States at the court of St. James.⁶⁰

Calhoun's party was confined almost entirely to eastern Virginia. A very large number of his friends were former Whigs, who had either followed their leader into the Democratic party in 1837, or deserted the Whig party in 1841. Of Calhoun's party W. H. Roane wrote:

⁵⁹ W. H. Roane to Martin Van Buren, February 14, 1843. *Van Buren MSS.*

⁶⁰ The *Stevenson MSS.* in the Library of Congress contains some interesting letters from Ritchie to Stevenson.

"There is quite a stiff party in this state, calling themselves State Rights Republicans, many of whom were a few years ago State Rights Whigs."⁶¹ The leaders of this party were: R. M. T. Hunter of Essex County, who had long been Calhoun's right-hand man in Virginia, although he had not followed closely the political affiliations of his leader; James A. Seddon of Richmond, whose chief political duty was to watch and report the movements of the Junta; Wm. O. Goode of Mecklenburg county, the rival of Geo. C. Dromgoole; Wm. F. Gordon of Albemarle county, who, as a Whig member of Congress, had, in 1834, proposed the Independent Treasury system; and Wm. P. Taylor of Caroline county, a worthy son of the illustrious John Taylor of Caroline.

With all that aggressiveness and impatience which characterized the followers of Calhoun, his friends led off in this contest. In the early part of 1842 they circulated a pamphlet to set forth the claims and qualifications of their favorite for the presidency. About the same time the *Lynchburg Republican* and the *Norfolk Chronicle and Old Dominion* nominated him and Silas Wright for the presidency and vice-presidency, respectively.⁶² But Calhoun could not hope for success in Virginia without the support of Ritchie and the *Enquirer*. He complained of Mr. Ritchie's policy of keeping Virginia attached to New York and Pennsylvania, when she (Virginia) should "be at the head of the South."⁶³ For reasons already shown, the time was now thought opportune for effecting a long coveted alliance with the Richmond Junta. The *Richmond*

⁶¹ W. H. Roane to Martin Van Buren, February 9 and 14, 1843. *Van Buren MSS.*

⁶² Thomas H. Benton to Martin Van Buren, April 17, 1842. *Van Buren MSS.*

⁶³ "Calhoun Correspondence," *Am. Hist. Assn. Rept.* (1899), II., pp. 517, 527, 538, 544, 546, 562, etc.

Senate, and of his resolution to rest his claims to future political preferment on a book on the principles of government, which he was then writing. He also raised objections to the practice of electing delegates to the Democratic national conventions by state conventions, and of permitting a majority of the delegates thus selected to cast the entire vote of a state. Moreover, he declared it to be the purpose of Calhoun's friends to remedy the alleged defects in the national nominating body, and to postpone the nomination to the latest possible date. The echoes from Rhett's visit had not ceased, when Calhoun took advantage of an opportunity to visit Richmond while on his way to Congress.⁷⁰ He confirmed what Rhett had said and made overtures to the political leaders.

The efforts of Calhoun were in vain, but they were treated with the greatest courtesy and with apparent consideration. Roane advised against his contemplated retirement from the Senate and his determination to risk his chances for the presidency upon the results of the contest then pending.⁷¹ Meanwhile Ritchie assured the public that it would not be entirely deprived of Mr. Calhoun's services, because "he is now writing a book on the principles of government."⁷² At the same time he was careful to deny the statement of the *New York Herald* to the effect that the *Charleston* (S. C.) *Mercury* and the *Richmond Enquirer* had come out openly in support of Mr. Calhoun.⁷³ Of this and other attempts to win Ritchie, Wm. Selden, one of his closest political friends, said in a letter to Van Buren: "Every device had

⁷⁰ W. H. Roane to Martin Van Buren, September 11, 1843. *Van Buren MSS.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Richmond Enquirer*, December 8, 1842.

⁷³ *New York Herald*, December 5, 1842. See also *Richmond Enquirer*, December 8, 1842.

a breach of neutrality, as Texas and Mexico were then at war with each other, but he thought it within the constitutional powers of Congress to acquire territory. This letter came to Richmond on April 30th, when the Democrats were receiving the returns from an unsuccessfully contested election for members of the General Assembly.¹⁶³ Its effect is best described in a letter from Roane to Van Buren:

"Your letter to Mr. Hammett," said he, "is just received here and has caused a sensation and is likely to produce an *effect* which no paper has caused or produced in my knowledge."¹⁶⁴ He also informed him that the publication of his letter two weeks earlier would have given the House of Delegates of the Assembly to the Whigs by 30 or 40 majority and added, "you cannot (I am grieved to the heart to think) carry this state next fall. Whether any Democrat can, God only knows."

The members of the Junta were at a loss to know what to do. Various courses were suggested. Finally the Shockoe Hill Democratic Association was called to meet the following day. At this meeting Ritchie drew, offered, and secured the adoption of resolutions, which declared that the immediate reannexation of Texas to the United States was a measure required by the best interests of the Union, that such a course was consistent with the soundest principles of international law, that the efforts then being made in the north by Albert Gallatin and others to prevent the acquisition of more slave territory would, if successful, place the south under the ban of the republic, that the commercial and abolitionist activities of Great Britain in Texas furnished strong and additional grounds why we should repossess ourselves of that country, that Clay's letter opposing annexation was an attack upon the institution of

¹⁶³ W. H. Roane to Van Buren, April 30, 1844. *Van Buren MSS.*; *Richmond Enquirer*, May 2, 1844.

¹⁶⁴ April 30, 1844. *Van Buren MSS.*

1825; ¹⁰² above all things, he insisted upon the immediate annexation of Texas. Texas in the Union, he thought, would be a less fearful competitor than Texas in the British Empire. In either case, it would be populated largely from the United States, and would raise cotton. As a part of the United States, she would afford a ready market for "worthless negroes" at "high prices." The money from their sales could be used to make necessary improvements at home, and their removal would give a place for desirable whites and German immigrants in those mechanical and commercial employments from which a surplus of slave labor had driven them.¹⁰³

Although the results of this contest were in doubt to the last the Democrats won by a popular majority of almost six thousand. The current of public opinion was in their favor, and they outgeneraled their opponents in both tactics and arguments. The slogan, "Polk and Texas," was popular with voters of all parties in eastern Virginia, and in the very last days of the campaign, Ritchie gave wide circulation, through the medium of the press, to the attacks made by the *Richmond Whig* in 1840, upon the alleged ignorance and stupidity of the "Suabian Dutch" of the Valley, who had caused the vote of Virginia to be cast against W. H. Harrison for the presidency. By these tactics he turned threatened defections from the Democratic party in the western counties into large majorities.¹⁰⁴

CHARLES HENRY AMBLER.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, October 10, 12, 15, 1844.

¹⁰³ *Richmond Enquirer*, July 19, 1844.

¹⁰⁴ *Richmond Whig*, November 13, 1840; *Richmond Enquirer*, October 3, 1844.

THE SOUTHERN WHIGS, 1834-1854

IF we are to interpret correctly the character and career of any political party we must beware of expecting too complete a consonance between their logical interests as we look back upon them and their actions, alliances, and war-cries. The doctrine of some historians¹ that the whole course of the Whigs, north and south, hinged upon their championship of congressional power as a preventive of presidential autocracy could only have been reached by taking too seriously the rhodomontade of party platforms and congressional speeches, and neglecting the pamphlet, newspaper, and epistolary materials.

While the function of government is to adjust society to its environment and to adjust groups and individuals within society to one another, and the function of politics is to readjust society in response to changes in the conditions of life, the adjustment and readjustment are never perfect. Political problems are never fully solved, but always in the process of solution. They could be fully solved only if men's knowledge, intelligence, and self-control were perfect, and if men's conditions, interests, and aims were harmonious. Since these are never so, there is never a cessation of political strife, but only an occasional abatement. When, in a republic, relatively permanent differences of condition and interest set off one large element of the people against another, each lull in politics, each "era of good feeling," is likely to be succeeded by a revival of the same alignments as before, and a renewal of strife on much the same grounds.

¹ The most positive of these is Burgess, J. W., *The Middle Period*, N. Y., 1897, pp. 282, 283.

Politicians are not always aware of the character of the forces which cause and control their own actions, and even when so conscious, they are often prone to divert attention from the real conditions and motives by making appeal to theories and generalities. Patriotism is the party cry of many who would use increased governmental power for their own particular behoof; the inherent rights of men are as much appealed to by those who would raise themselves as by those who would raise their brethren. Radicals are easily caught by "general principles," and would often o'erleap the mark of soundness in their plans of social and political readjustment. Conservatives, whether by native temperament or by the possession of vested interests, are skeptical of generalities and slow to indorse the proposal of any change from the established order.

The ante-bellum south was an entirely normal community so far as the play of political forces is concerned. The negro-slave-plantation system created and maintained a huge special vested interest differentiated from and in more or less chronic conflict with the local "farming interest" and the farming, manufacturing, and commercial interests in the northern states. But politicians and political interests must have bedfellows. The southern planters were always a minority of the voting population in their several states and in the United States; and for the sake of security to their interests they were obliged to find and retain allies at home and abroad, and to decry the too sharp definition of real issues. And they must be chary, also, of political shibboleths which might prove, for them, wolves in sheep's clothing.

The wave of Jeffersonian democracy and of Jacksonian democracy successively put the conservatives of the south (the planters and their allies) on the defensive. Neither of these movements paid heed to the fact that southern industry and society were exceptionally constituted upon a

peculiar basis, and each in turn threatened danger to the fabric. The champions of the established régime had to rally to its support against each of these waves, and to use for their purpose such means as were found at hand. Hence, the southern Federalists² of Jefferson's time, and the southern Whigs of Jackson's. With the latter we are here concerned.

When the propaganda of Jacksonian Democracy began to sweep the country, in the late eighteen-twenties and the early thirties, it bade fair for some years to destroy a variety of existing adjustments, and to injure a variety of interests. Its campaign for the idea that one man is as good as another threatened and then actually overthrew the historic property-holding qualifications for suffrage and office-holding. Its contempt for checks and balances promised a régime of government by impulse rather than by deliberation, in case of definitive Jacksonian victory. Its hostility to corporations, capital, privileges, and aristocracy drove all who were friendly to these things, as well as those who were temperamentally conservative, into resistance to all that was Jacksonian.

The only means conceivable for erecting substantial resistance to the Democratic surge, as well as to Jackson's arbitrary will, was to organize a country-wide party of opposition. And to give that party a prospect of success its numbers must be made as large, its membership as comprehensive, as possible. All resources to be found in the existing situation must be utilized, all dislike of Jackson or his lieutenants must be fanned, all old controversies which might be useful must be revived, all the local factions available for national purposes must be attracted, and the most talented leaders, old and new, must be brought into service and be given free opportunity to spar with the

² Cf. the writer's article, "The South Carolina Federalists," in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. XIV., pp. 529-543, 731-743, 776-790.

Administration in Congress and on the hustings, to expose Jacksonian weaknesses and develop opposition strength.

When in 1834 the first steps were taken to establish the Whig party, political conditions throughout the country were highly complicated, local considerations and local animosities ruled the day, and perhaps nothing short of a national emergency such as Jackson precipitated could have centralized politics and have simplified conditions into a national two-party régime. The simplification, as we shall see, was more apparent than real, and each of the parties was destined to have chronic trouble in maintaining its own harmony and efficiency. The Democracy was a unit in Jackson's day, it is true, but thereafter it was in frequent danger of splitting asunder. The Whig party at large, as John Fiske has well shown,³ was from its birth to its death a coalition of National Republicans, mainly northern, and state-rights men, mainly southern. The present essay will show that the southern wing of the Whig party was itself a coalition of broad constructionists and strict constructionists, without the possibility of firm cohesion, beset with troubles, and achieving victories only at the peril of dissolution. Nevertheless, the southern Whigs exerted a powerful influence upon their times and have left a strong impress upon later generations.

In the early eighteen-thirties in every southern state old enough to have begun to emerge from frontier conditions there prevailed some alignment of local factions opposing one another mainly upon local issues. In Kentucky the principal questions of policy had been banking and debts, in Tennessee the taxation of lands, in Georgia the Indian relations, and in the Carolinas, Virginia, and Maryland the distribution of representation and the building of internal improvements. Federal problems were of active influence

³ "Harrison, Tyler, and the Whig Coalition," in his *Essays Historical and Literary*, Vol. I.

as a rule, hostile to federal paternalism; and these were of course by far the predominant interests in the south. The nullification episode, with McDuffie's "forty-bale" theory as an incident, had stressed the importance of free trade to the cotton planters, and Jackson's anti-nullification proclamation and the force bill spread and intensified the devotion to state rights among the planters and their friends.

The development of social cleavage and its influence in the cleavage of political elements is more difficult to trace and is impossible to demonstrate in brief compass.* Suffice it here to say that in every southern state in which a clear-cut alignment of local parties had developed during the "Era of Good Feeling," one faction in each state comprised most of the well-to-do and aristocratically inclined people, and the other was largely made up of the illiterates and unprosperous. The lines were not at all sharply drawn in this connection either in society or in politics; but a tendency nevertheless strongly prevailed. The lower classes were of course in most communities the first to welcome Jackson and Jacksonian Democracy. But in the presidential elections of 1828 and 1832, when the only choice lay between Jackson and Adams or Jackson and Clay, the two opposing factions in numerous states vied in their ardor in supporting Jackson. This was conspicuous in Georgia and North Carolina. But when the question of Van Buren's succession arose, opportunity was furnished for one local faction or the other to withdraw from the Jacksonian alliance and return to its favorite occupation of fighting its local antagonist. By 1840 party lines were so sharply drawn throughout the southern states, and the rank-and-file so firmly habituated to their neighborhood friendships and enmities, that oftentimes the leaders themselves could not remodel the popular alignment. When

* Cf. Flisch, Julia A., "The Common People of the Old South," in *Amer. Hist. Assn. Report* for 1908, I, pp. 133-142.

Tyler and Wise, for example, went from the Whig into the Democratic camp in 1841-42, their district continued to give Whig majorities.

The great central body of southern Whigs were the cotton producers, who were first state-rights men pure and simple and joined the Whigs from a sense of outrage at Jackson's threat of coercing South Carolina. With Calhoun and Tyler at their head, they entered an alliance with Webster, Clay, and the National Republicans as a choice of evils. For several years it was merely an alliance which was established, not a union; and, indeed, Calhoun and all of his following in South Carolina and some of it in Georgia and Virginia, withdrew from that alliance before the "hurrah campaign" of 1840 cemented the Whigs into a union. The basis of amity within the coalition was of course an agreement, partly implicit and partly expressed, that all questions as between paternalism and state rights should be waived for the sake of a joint campaign against presidential autoeracy and irresponsible democracy. Successive arbitrary deeds of Jackson in the middle thirties drove to the Whigs still other politicians and constituencies,⁷ until by the middle of 1836 there was in every southern state a strong anti-Van Buren organization, and in the election of that year the electoral vote of the south was evenly divided between Van Buren and the several Whig candidates.

The Whigs when defeated in the north by Van Buren in 1836 promptly realized that union instead of alliance was a condition of party success, and began to prepare for victory in 1840. But some of the anti-Van Buren allies when confronted with the demand that they take party pledges, revised their choice of evils and marched back to the Democratic camp. The Democratic movement had

⁷ Cf. Tyler, L. G., *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, I., p. 604; *William and Mary College Quarterly*, IV., p. 239.

lost its momentum as a rise of the lower classes and was no longer to be feared by conservatives, and Van Buren was clearly not a Jacksonian autocrat. Calhoun, dreading a revival of a paternalistic program by the Clay following, forsook the Whigs in 1837-38 and by gradual stages became fully identified with the Democratic party, and R. M. T. Hunter of Virginia and three Georgia congressmen, Mark A. Cooper, Walter T. Colquitt, and Edward J. Black, followed Calhoun's example in 1839-40.

These Georgians were vigorously assailed at home as turncoats; and they as vigorously defended their action. Cooper as their principal spokesman issued in April, 1840, an elaborate circular to his constituents^a maintaining that his whole career had been one of devotion to state rights and contending that his state-rights principles must require him and his colleagues to support Van Buren as against Harrison. The Whig party he declared to be a coalition against Van Buren, with no principle in common, but with National Republicans predominating in its membership. The course which he himself had adopted, he said, was like that of Calhoun, not to commit his constituents to either party in Congress but to apply to each the state-rights test and to support those leaders who were most likely to promote the state-rights cause. The Democrats, he maintained, had now abandoned and repudiated the Jacksonian exaggeration of federal powers, while the Whigs were tending strongly to advocate centralization. He urged that state-rights men should stand independently as a third element in national politics, throwing their weight into one scale or the other as might best serve their own purposes. The Whigs, he concluded, were now to be opposed not only because of their federalistic tendency but also because of the presence within their party of a strong

^a *Federal Union*, April 14, 1840. This newspaper, published at Mill-
edgeville, was the organ of the Democratic party in Georgia.

abolitionist wing at the north. With a defense of his vote for Hunter as speaker and for Blair and Rives as public printers, Cooper rested his case; and so far as his former constituents were concerned, he lost it.

The reasons and conditions which impelled the Georgia Whigs into the course which the bulk of them actually followed do not appear in a formal document, but must be gathered from the editorial policy of the state Whig organ, the *Southern Recorder* of Milledgeville, and from the proceedings of local Whig meetings and of the Whig state convention of 1840. On June 25, 1839, the *Southern Recorder* announced that it would support for the presidency in 1840 George M. Troup, the veteran fire-eating ex-governor of Georgia, whose name was of course one to conjure with among state-rights devotees; and other Whig papers followed the *Recorder's* example. The Democratic presses denounced this raising of Troup's banner as a ruse to carry Georgia's vote for Clay in case the election should be thrown into the United States House of Representatives. The *Recorder* in reply^{*} repudiated such a purpose, declared its determination to secure Troup's election if possible, and made a counter charge that the Van Buren presses were attempting to discredit the nomination of Troup, because they knew that if the state-rights party, now commonly called Whig, should support Clay's candidacy it would throw the state irrevocably into the Van Buren column. The nomination of Harrison and Tyler in December by the Whig national convention at Harrisburg (in which Georgia was not represented) removed the danger of Clay's candidacy and relieved the need for an independent candidate in Georgia. Nevertheless, the *Recorder* continued to carry Troup's name at its "mast-head" until the end of April, 1840, devoting its editorials, meanwhile, to the censure of both Van Buren and "feder-

^{*} July 30, 1839.

alism," and incidentally scolding Cooper, Colquitt, and Black for their failure to rally to Troup's standard. But in April a series of local Whig meetings showed such a strong current in the state for Harrison and Tyler that on May 5 the *Recorder* announced its withdrawal of Troup's name. The resolutions adopted by one of these meetings—that at Macon on April 11—indicates the strong attachment to state rights which the Georgia Whigs still felt. In reply to the charge by the Democratic organs that Harrison was an enemy to state rights and southern interests, these resolutions said: "Would John Tyler consent to be identified with such a man on the same ticket? It cannot for one moment be believed."¹⁰ On June 1 and 2, the "anti-Van Buren" or Whig convention of the state held its session at Milledgeville, with John M. Berrien as its president and Robert Toombs a leading member, deliberated very briefly, indorsed Harrison and Tyler, nominated a ticket of electors in their behalf, and adjourned to a nearby grove for a barbecue and jubilation.¹¹ Contemporaneously with this, a Georgia Democrat wrote to a colleague: "Two or three state-rights men that I know, and only two or three, will vote for Van Buren. It is impossible to beat it into the heads of the Nullifiers that Cooper, Colquitt, and Black are not turncoats, but sustain the same principles they have ever done, and those they were sent there to uphold."¹² Against the Harrison-Tyler movement further protests in the name of state rights were vain. The combination of state-rights protestations and Tippecanoe hurrahs carried the state in November by a

¹⁰ *Southern Recorder*, April 21, 1840.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, June 9, 1840.

¹² Letter of James Jackson, Monroe, Ga., June 7, 1840, to Howell Cobb, Athens, Ga. This and all other letters quoted in this essay are from the MSS. correspondence of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb, which will be published in the *American Historical Association Report* for 1910, report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

large majority; and as was usual in the ante-bellum period, as Georgia went, so went the nation.

The Georgia Democrats, however, were merely defeated, not routed, and they stood ready to profit by Whig blunders and misfortunes. Their position as regards state rights in 1840 was not appreciably different from that of the Georgia Whigs, and the basis of party divergence was not federal problems. Georgia Whigs voted the Whig ticket mainly because they were or aspired to be cotton-planting squires and because they or their fathers had voted for Crawford or Troup or Gilmer in preceding decades, while Georgia Democrats were Democrats mostly because they were non-slaveholding farmers of the mountains or the pine-barrens or perhaps, in the cotton-belt, traditionally opposed to the squirearchy.

The conditions in Alabama and Mississippi prior to 1840 are obscure, but all discernible indications point to developments closely parallel to those in Georgia. In North Carolina the course of affairs was also similar to that in Georgia up to the year 1836; but thereafter it happened for some obscure reason that the planters' party held fast to the Jackson-Van Buren organization in the country at large, while the farmers' party, including of course the mountaineers, went over to the Whig alliance, running thus precisely counter to the development in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. In South Carolina the majority of the body politic was at Calhoun's bidding, and the electoral vote of the state from 1836 to 1848 was probably cast in each case as he directed. The presidential electors were chosen by the legislature in that state instead of by the people, and it is not practicable to plot the vote by counties nor to determine fully at any time the localities or the character of the Whig and Democratic constituencies. Kentucky was nearly as much a pocket borough of South Carolina of Calhoun.

In the rest of the southern states there were definite local interests more or less dependent upon the use of broad powers by Congress for the promotion of local prosperity; and in each of these states, on account of the demand for internal improvements in East Tennessee and portions of Virginia and Maryland and for sugar protection in Louisiana, as well as for wool and hemp protection in Missouri and Kentucky, the Whig party never professed full devotion to state rights but was a coalition at all times embracing a substantial body of National Republicans. Personal relations among the political and social leaders, of course, complicated the social and economic alignments in politics. In Tennessee, for example, Jackson was warmly supported by Grundy and Polk, and was bitterly opposed upon diverse grounds by John Williams, Hugh L. White, John Bell, David Crockett, and William G. Brownlow. On the surface of things the campaigns seem personal and confused. But when the votes are plotted on maps of the state it is revealed that practically every county which lay on the Tennessee, the Cumberland, or the Mississippi rivers and prospered in the possession of rich lowland soil gave steady Whig majorities, while the counties lying in the more sterile highlands and mountains tended to be steadily Democratic. Williams, White, and Bell were moderate state-rights men, Brownlow an extreme nationalist, and Crockett merely a personal enemy of Jackson. Probably most of the Whigs of middle and western Tennessee were of the state-rights brand, while most of those in East Tennessee were National Republicans partly because of Brownlow's influence, partly because of their dislike of negroes and slavery, but mainly because they wanted the federal government to build a national turnpike through the region and to build a canal around the Tennessee River. In Virginia the coalition character of the Whigs

and was furnished with a means of doing so in cypher."⁶⁹

Lowry will live in the annals of American diplomacy as the first agent of the United States to serve his country in Spanish America. He reached his destination long before Poinsett. In the autumn of 1810 Lowry caught glimpses of the mountain-peaks of Venezuela, and located at the port of La Guayra.⁷⁰ In spite of the fact that the revolutionary partisans considered the authorization of Lowry unsatisfactory, they entered into friendly relations with him, and, in the autumn of 1811, asked him to procure aid for them from the great republic of the North.⁷¹ In February, 1812, Lowry reported that he had been invited to the city of Caracas to confer with the leaders of the revolutionary government regarding an appeal which they wished to make to his government for assistance in "arms and money." He declared that he had urged upon them the necessity of making "a candid statement of the resources of the country." According to the account of the agent, the independent chiefs even implored him to embark for the United States in order to inform that government of the actual condition of Venezuela and to present their supplications.⁷² In the spring of 1812, some time after the appointment of a consul to Buenos Aires,⁷³ Lowry received his commission as consul for the

⁶⁹ Lowry to Graham, November 30, 1816, *State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Letters from Consuls, La Guayra, I.*

⁷⁰ Lowry to the secretary of state, September 6, 1810, *State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Letters from Consuls, La Guayra, I.*

⁷¹ Lowry to Monroe, August 21, 1811, *ibid.*

⁷² Lowry to Monroe, February 2, 1812, *ibid.* Macgregor to Perceval, January 18, 1812, speaks of Lowry watching over the interests of the United States with "no common care" and "circulating reports unfavorable to the British," *P. R. O., Foreign Office Correspondence, Spain, 171.*

⁷³ Paxson, F. L., *The Independence of the South-American Republics*, p. 109.

United States to "the Port of La Guayra in Caracas and such other ports as shall be nearer thereto than to the residence of any other Consul or Vice-Consul of the United States within the same allegiance." This commission, said Lowry, was forwarded to the patriot officials at Caracas, who received it gladly, but calamitous circumstances prevented the "usual forms of recognition" from being completed.⁷⁴

The revolutionary party in Venezuela was evidently chagrined at the attitude of the United States. On March 18, 1811, Juan de Escalona, president of the provisional government of Venezuela, addressed, at "the palace of government," a communication to the United States, in which the failure of that government to make a generous response to the approaches of Bolívar was contrasted with the cordial reception accorded to Lowry. The United States was informed that Telésforo de Orea and, in a subordinate capacity, José R. Revenga, a Venezuelan who thus began a noteworthy public career,⁷⁵ were now made the commissioners of Venezuela to the United States to promote the "fraternal union and reciprocal usefulness of North and South America." An alliance was again proposed between that province and the United States.⁷⁶ After July 5, 1811, when the United Provinces of Venezuela declared themselves free, sovereign, and independent,⁷⁷ an example which was soon emulated by other

⁷⁴ Lowry to Monroe, June 5, 1812, Lowry to Graham, November 30, 1816, *State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Letters from Consuls, La Guayra, I.*

⁷⁵ Azpurúa, R., *Biografías de hombres notables de hispano-américa*, IV., pp. 317-330, sketches Revenga's career.

⁷⁶ Addressed to the secretary of state of the United States, *State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Rolls and Library, Papers Relative to the Revolted Spanish Colonies*. The arrival of Edwardo at Philadelphia with dispatches from Caracas is mentioned in *The Baltimore American*, July 2, 1810.

⁷⁷ The declaration of independence may be conveniently found in *The Annual Register* for 1811, pp. 331-336.

Spanish-American provinces, Orea and Revenga became the first diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the United States from a Spanish-American state which formally claimed independence. The news of the adoption of the first formal declaration of independence by a Latin-American neighbor reached North America on the eve of the war with England. This helps to explain the surprising fact that this announcement evoked less enthusiasm in the newspapers of the United States than had some filibustering expeditions.⁷⁸

The Confederation of Venezuela soon invested Orea with the title of "extraordinary agent" to the United States. In the meantime Robert Smith had been succeeded by James Monroe, who was thus the secretary of state of the United States when one Spanish-American state assumed a free and independent condition. According to his instructions,⁷⁹ on November 6, 1811, the agent of Venezuela addressed Monroe, enclosing the design of the tricolored independent flag and a copy of the declaration of independence. "Although the action of Venezuela," said Orea, "is grounded upon the natural rights of men, nevertheless the respect due to other nations has inspired that Confederation to make manifest the causes which have put an end to the deference that she has hitherto generously observed towards Spain. Thus justified in every respect, Venezuela does not doubt that the United States will recognize that new Confederation as a free and independent nation. The uniformity of principles and the reciprocity of interests of both nations make

⁷⁸ Newspaper comment on Venezuelan independence may be found in Niles, H., *Weekly Register*, II., p. 71; *The Aurora*, September 3, 1811; *National Intelligencer*, December 12, 1811; extracts from the *Virginia Patriot* are found in *The Alexandria Gazette*, August 11-August 22, 1810.

⁷⁹ The credentials dated July 27, 1811, are found in *State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Rolls and Library, Papers Relative to the Revolted Spanish Colonies*.

Venezuela hope that such recognition will be the precursor of treaties of amity and commerce founded upon equitable and mutually useful bases."⁸⁰ The favorite project of an alliance between Venezuela and the United States was again broached.⁸¹

The presentation of this evidence concerning the status of the revolution in the province where the movement had made most progress, was not without an influence on the United States. In President Madison's message to Congress on November 5, 1811, he referred to "the scenes developing" in the "great communities which occupy the southern portion of our own hemisphere, and extend into our neighborhood," and declared that it was a national duty to take a "deep interest" in their destinies.⁸² This part of the message was referred to a special committee of the house of representatives to which Secretary Monroe also sent, by request, the Venezuelan declaration of independence. On December 10, 1811, this committee reported a resolution, which, however, was not acted upon; that Congress beheld, "with friendly interest, the establishment of independent sovereignties by the Spanish provinces in America," that the United States felt "a great solicitude for their welfare," and that when these provinces had attained "the condition of nations, by the just exercise of their rights," the Congress of the United States would join with the president to establish with them, as "sovereign and independent States," amicable relations and commercial intercourse.⁸³ A few days later Monroe referred the envoy of Venezuela to this resolution as evi-

⁸⁰ *State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Rolls and Library, Papers Relative to the Revolted Spanish Colonies.*

⁸¹ Undated (marked number 9), *ibid.*

⁸² Richardson, J. D., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, I., p. 494.

⁸³ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III., pp. 538-539. This resolution was printed in Spanish in the *Aurora de Chile*, May 28, 1812.

pledge that Venezuelan emissaries to Napoleon would be received with "the esteem due to friends and with the consideration which the representatives of a free and independent nation had a right to expect." He also asked if, in case of necessity, France would generously protect the efforts of Venezuela to secure her liberty. The agent predicted that these queries would be made the object of direct communications between the agents of Venezuela and the ministers of France.⁸⁸ In the reply of Sérurier he declared, unofficially, that each day strengthened his conviction that a Venezuelan minister would be well received in France, that he believed that Venezuela would not "appeal in vain to so powerful a monarch," and that she would find in Napoleon's general policy all the support which she could desire. Orea was also told to inform his government that until a Venezuelan minister arrived in Paris, Sérurier would serve as the medium of communication between Venezuela and France.⁸⁹

On December 9, 1811, Sérurier sent a dispatch to his government which described a long and interesting conversation that he had held with the Venezuelan agent. According to this dispatch, the French minister had informed the latter of the "generous views" of Napoleon with regard to Venezuela. Orea had declared that it was not probable that the English and the Spaniards would permit the Venezuelans to live long in peace. "Our first thoughts," said Orea, "in this state of uncertainty turned to France. We hope that perhaps she will now do for South America what she so generously did thirty years ago for North America." The agent affirmed that in case of war the republic of Venezuela would accept with

⁸⁸ Orea to Sérurier, December 4, 1811 (copy), *ibid.*

⁸⁹ Sérurier to Orea, December 6, 1811, *Affaires Étrangères, États-Unis*, 66.

gratitude whatever protection and assistance the emperor might grant, and declared that he would immediately inform his government of the flattering communication of Sérurier. Orea soon expected to be able to inform the latter what kind of succor was most needed by the revolutionists of Venezuela. The French minister also conversed with Orea about the revolt in other parts of the Spanish patrimony in America. The South American now asked Sérurier for a document which he might transmit to his government as indicative of the intentions of France in regard to Venezuela. Although the experienced French diplomat felt that such a paper might be used to injure France, he could not utterly refuse to comply. As a compromise, and unofficially, he cautiously agreed to express in general terms what he believed to be the intentions of his government. So favorable an impression was made on Orea by these unofficial assurances that, in the words of Sérurier: "The envoy of Venezuela believed that on the arrival of his dispatches in Caracas the minister designed to convey to his Majesty the wishes of his republic would at once leave for France, if indeed he had not already departed."⁹⁰

But Orea was not to be shrined in history as the Benjamin Franklin of the Venezuelan revolution. This zealous envoy, who in the last days of February, sent to Secretary Monroe a copy of the federal constitution that had just been adopted by Venezuela in the hope that this measure might accelerate the action of the United States in regard to his republic,⁹¹ saw his plans spoiled by unforeseen calamities. The ruinous earthquake which vis-

⁹⁰ Sérurier to Maret, December 9, 1811, *Affaires Étrangères, États-Unis*, 66. On the attitude of France at this time see also Hunt, G., *Writings of James Madison*, VIII., p. 171.

⁹¹ February 27, 1812 (translation), *State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Rolls and Library, Papers Relative to the Revolted Spanish Colonies*.

ited Venezuela on March 26, 1812,⁹² checked the recognition of Consul Lowry, retarded progress with Sérurier, and altered the nature of Orea's supplications to the United States.

The Venezuelan agent now made a pathetic plea to that government "to preserve the melancholy remains of the most horrible earthquake." He asked that the embargo which had been laid on the commerce of the United States be raised so as to permit the exportation of supplies to his stricken countrymen.⁹³ The distressed envoy soon learned that the sympathy of the United States had been aroused by the reports of the earthquake, and that Congress, with characteristic generosity, had passed a law by which President Madison was authorized to present provisions to the government of Venezuela "for the relief of the unfortunate sufferers." Orea was informed that arrangements had been made for carrying this act into effect at once, and that Alexander Scott, "a very respectable citizen of the United States," had been intrusted with the execution of the commission, and would soon sail for South America.⁹⁴

Alexander Scott of the District of Columbia had apparently been selected as "a political agent to Venezuela" in 1811, but being detained in port by the embargo, he did not leave the United States until the spring of 1812.⁹⁵ The instructions to Scott of May 12, 1812, intrusted him with more duties than the delivery of the supplies. Like Lowry he was to investigate conditions. For guidance

⁹² Robertson, W. S., "Francisco de Miranda," *Am. Hist. Assn. Rept.*, 1907, I., pp. 460-462.

⁹³ Orea to Monroe, April 28, 1812, *State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Rolls and Library, Papers Relative to the Revolted Spanish Colonies.*

⁹⁴ Monroe to Orea, May 14, 1812, *State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes to Legations, II.* For the law see *Annals of Congress, 12th Congress, 1st Session*, p. 2294.

⁹⁵ *House Report No. 72, 20th Congress, 2d Session*, p. 3.

Scott was given a copy of the instructions of June 28, 1810, to Poinsett.⁹⁶ Alexander Scott, however, was instructed by Secretary Monroe that the "independence of the Provinces of Venezuela forms an essential difference between their situation and that of the other Provinces of Spain in America; but still, until their independence is more formally recognized by the United States, it cannot materially affect your duties." Until such acknowledgment was made, he was given "credential letters" like those held by Poinsett. Scott was told that a "principal motive in delaying to recognize in greater form" the independence of Venezuela arose from a desire to ascertain how far the Venezuelans had actually committed themselves to independence. "Nothing," said Monroe, "would be more absurd than for the United States to acknowledge their independence in form, until it was evident that the people themselves were resolved and able to support it. Should a counter-revolution take place after such acknowledgment, the United States would sustain an injury, without having rendered any advantage to the people." Scott also was instructed to cultivate friendly relations with the Venezuelans. He was told that the United States was disposed to render good offices to Venezuela in her relations with foreign powers, and that instructions had been given to the ministers at Paris, St. Petersburg, and London to inform these courts that the United States took "an interest in the independence of the Spanish provinces."⁹⁷

But no glad tidings of a royalist surrender in Venezuela enabled her envoys to cement relations with foreign powers.

⁹⁶ Poinsett's instructions are found in *ibid.*, pp. 7, 8; cf. Paxson, F. L., *The Independence of the South-American Republics*, pp. 107-109. On the relations between the United States and Spanish America at this time, see also Lyman, T., *The Diplomacy of the United States*, II., pp. 424-433. Latané, J. H., *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Spanish America*, pp. 55-58.

⁹⁷ *House Report No. 72, 20th Congress, 2d Session*, pp. 8, 9.

Alexander Scott had only begun his labors in Venezuela when a counter-revolution actually triumphed, and the patriot soldiers, under the dictator Miranda, laid down their arms to the jubilant royalists, commanded by Domingo Monteverde.⁹⁸ The designs of Miranda for new diplomatic missions to the United States and England⁹⁹ were thus frustrated; his confidential emissary, Thomas Molini, reached the court of London in time to plead only for the liberation of his master from a Spanish dungeon.¹⁰⁰ The harassed Mendez now prayed for relief from the dire financial embarrassments of his agency,¹⁰¹ and vainly petitioned Lord Castlereagh, the English minister of foreign affairs, to intervene in behalf of the proscribed Venezuelan patriots.¹⁰² In the autumn of 1813, Telésforo de Orea was granted a passport to leave the United States;¹⁰³ José R. Revenga soon emerged in South America as the trusted secretary of Simón Bolívar;¹⁰⁴ while Messrs. Lowry and Scott were forced by the tyrannical Monteverde to leave Venezuelan soil.¹⁰⁵ The alluring hopes of foreign recognition that had been cherished by some South Amer-

⁹⁸ Rojas, marqués de, *El General Miranda*, pp. 750-753, prints the capitulations.

⁹⁹ Robertson, W. S., "Francisco de Miranda," *Am. Hist. Assn. Rept.*, 1907, I., pp. 466, 467.

¹⁰⁰ Molini to Richard Wellesley, March 11, 1813, *P. R. O., Foreign Office Correspondence, Spain, 151*.

¹⁰¹ Amunátegui, M. L., *Andrés Bello*, pp. 129, 207, 208. See also Vansittart to Miranda, March 19, 1811, *Miscellaneous Correspondence of Lord Bexley* (British Museum), *Additional MSS.*, 31.230.

¹⁰² Mendez to Castlereagh, October 14 and November 28, 1812, *P. R. O., Foreign Office Correspondence, Spain, 157*.

¹⁰³ Monroe to Orea, October 19, 1813, *State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes to Legation, II*.

¹⁰⁴ Amunátegui, M. L., *Andrés Bello*, p. 215; Azpurúa, *Biografías*, IV., pp. 319-334.

¹⁰⁵ Scott to Monroe, December 1, 1812, January 14, 1813, *State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Letters from Consuls, La Guayra, I*.

ican patriots vanished, and with these hopes faded the dreams of foreign gold, and arms, and fleets, and armies.

The appeals of the Venezuelans to the United States during this period typify the aspirations of many Spanish-American patriots. In 1810 Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, the father of Mexican independence, dispatched "a plenipotentiary and ambassador" to the United States.¹⁰⁶ Early in 1813 Ignacio L. Rayón, president of the junta of Mexico, selected an agent who was to initiate relations of commerce and alliance with the United States.¹⁰⁷ Manuel Palacio, an expatriated Venezuelan, informed the secretary of state of the United States in the same year that he had been commissioned to seek aid and protection for the independent province of Carthagera in South America.¹⁰⁸ On March 22, 1811, the provisional government of Chile addressed to the president and the Congress of the United States a communication regarding the opening of Chilean ports to American commerce.¹⁰⁹ The junta on the banks of the River La Plata in June of the same year instructed two agents, bearing assumed names, to secure arms from the generous republic of the North.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Alamán, L., *Historia de México*, II., pp. 466, 467. The fate of the agent is suggested by Romero, M., *Mexico and the United States*, p. 323.

¹⁰⁷ Alamán, L., *Historia de México*, III., pp. 505, 506. See further the proclamation of I. L. Rayón, June 18, 1814, on the arrival at Nautla of a certain General Embert, a supposed envoy of the United States, "our generous neighbors of the North," *ibid.*, IV., pp. 564, 565.

¹⁰⁸ M. Palacio to the secretary of state of the United States, December 26, 1813, *State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Rolls and Library, Papers Relative to the Revolted Spanish Colonies*. *Ibid.*, No. 18, is an appeal from one subscribing himself Pedro de la Lastra to James Monroe on behalf of New Granada, asking for the formation of close political relations with the United States; *ibid.*, No. 19, is a communication (undated) from the junta of Santa Fé to the president of the United States, proposing an alliance. On Palacio see Azpurúa, R., *Biografías*, II., pp. 186-193.

¹⁰⁹ *State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Rolls and Library, Papers Relative to the Revolted Spanish Colonies*; see also the *Aurora de Chile*, March 5, 1812.

¹¹⁰ The credentials to these agents, Diego Saavedra and Juan Pedro de

The attitude of Venezuela towards the United States, therefore, was not peculiar. To describe the diplomacy of Venezuela towards the United States and Europe during this epoch is to depict Spanish-American diplomacy in miniature. Signs are indeed found of the desire of other nascent Spanish-American states to enter into relations with European nations. Early in 1812 a nondescript agent in the city of Washington wrote a letter to the French minister Sérurier regarding Buenos Aires.¹¹¹ The junta of that city at once opened communications with Lord Strangford, the influential English envoy at Rio Janeiro,¹¹² and soon dispatched its able secretary, Mariano Moreno, on an ill-starred diplomatic mission to England.¹¹³ In August, 1812, the warrior-priest, J. M. Morelos, attempted to interest British officials in the Mexican struggle for independence.¹¹⁴ About two years later an alleged agent of New Granada sent an exposition to the English chancellor of the exchequer in which he directed attention to the climate, population, and resources of Venezuela and New Granada.¹¹⁵ In December, 1814, the provisional

Aguirre, are found in *State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Rolls and Library, Papers Relative to the Revolted Spanish Colonies*. On Martin Thompson, who appeared in Washington in 1816 to represent Buenos Aires, see *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV., p. 174.

¹¹¹ January 9, 1812, *Affaires Étrangères, États-Unis*, 67. The English government appears to have believed that Palacio was making approaches to Sérurier, see Henry Wellesley to Labrador, April 28, 1813, *P. R. O., Foreign Office Correspondence, Spain*, 144.

¹¹² Calvo, C., *Recueil complet des traités, conventions, capitulations, armistices, et autres actes diplomatiques de tous les états de l'Amérique latine*, VII., pp. 227-229.

¹¹³ *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, I., p. 98; see also Mitre, B., *Historia de Belgrano y de la independencia argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1902), I., pp. 322, 323, II., p. 1.

¹¹⁴ Morelos to "Exmos. Sres. Almirante de Marina ó Ministros de la Gran Bretaña," Tehuacán, August 27, 1812, *Archivo General de México, Historia*, 116; (British Museum), *Additional MSS.*, 31.231. See further Alamán, L., *Historia de México*, III., pp. 488-493.

¹¹⁵ (Translation), *Miscellaneous Correspondence of Lord Bexley* (Brit-

and England to initiate similar negotiations with European nations.¹³¹

The period from 1808 to 1816 was indeed only the prelude to the era in which the revolutionary party in Spanish America triumphed and various provinces were recognized as independent states.¹³² It was during this period that Spain entered upon a misguided policy towards her American colonies. France, which had displayed a keen interest in the revolutionizing of Spanish America, sank, after the battle of Waterloo, from her high international position. England, the ally of Spain, desirous of balking French designs and anxious to promote her own commercial interests, formulated that neutral and mediatory policy which she followed, in the main, until after the proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine. The United States adopted a cautious and neutral policy towards Spanish America, which, however, occasionally contemplated the recognition of Spanish-American independence. The United States listened, unofficially, to emissaries of the insurgents, sent agents to investigate conditions in Spanish America, and in time allowed the revolting provinces belligerent rights. Sympathy, at least, was enlisted for the independent cause on both sides of the Atlantic. Prominent European and American statesmen, notably George Canning and James Monroe, were led to meditate upon the relations of Spanish America to Europe and the United States.¹³³ The diplomacy of this period symbol-

¹³¹ *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, I., 381.

¹³² It was not until 1836 that Spain reluctantly recognized Mexico as a free, sovereign, and independent state, see Olavarría y Ferrari, V., *México independiente, 1821-1855* (México á través de los siglos, volume IV.), pp. 392-394 and note 2. The treaty of Córdoba, August 24, 1821, by which General O'Donohú recognized the independence of the Mexican empire, was declared illegal and void by the Spanish government.

¹³³ See Adams, C. F., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, III., p. 352, on the attitude of J. Q. Adams towards Spanish America.

izes the early attitude of many Spanish-American patriots towards those nations which profoundly influenced their political ideals; even San Martín occasionally stretched out his hands expectantly towards Anglo-Saxondom. At this time Spanish America appeared in the guise of a suppliant, stumbling at the threshold of national life. Although the student of law may hold that the Spanish-American peoples did not, during this transitional period, constitute sovereign and independent states, yet the student of history can discern new nations arising in the western hemisphere—nations which strove in vain to initiate those diplomatic relations with Europe and the United States that acquire more significance with each passing year.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

SOME NOTES ON THE STUDY OF SOUTH AMERICAN HISTORY

THE first requisite for the fruitful and truly scientific study of South American national history lies in an understanding of the European and colonial background of South American life, as well as in an appreciation of the special factors introduced through the physical and ethnical character of South America during the process of colonization. The active elements in the colonizing process, the warriors, priests, and colonists proper, must be studied from the point of view of their social and economic position in the countries from which they came. The present status of the scientific study of Spanish and Portuguese history leaves much to be desired in this respect, yet it is of the first importance that we should have this accurate understanding of the materials which composed the colonizing forces.

On the whole, it may perhaps be said with justice, that more work of permanent value has been done in South America in connection with colonial history than upon the later developments of national life. National history in South America is too often written from the point of view of political argumentation, or, at any rate, under the dominance of political views which cause the materials to be presented one-sidedly and with a distinct *parti pris*. The historical value of the notable writings of such men as Mitre is vitiated by this fact. In the treatment of colonial institutions and development, political passions are not so apt to control, and though so far few studies of definitive authority have been produced, a good deal of useful work

has been done and documentary material has been collected as well.

The first desideratum concerning the student of South American history is that he should keep his mind free from misleading analogies, and that, appreciating the distinctive characteristics of the South American world, he should allow his conclusions to develop naturally from the original materials at hand. In this respect, too, much of the history writing in South America is defective. It frequently happens that some European genius, like Le Bon, Lombroso, or Comte, gains such an ascendancy over the mind of a South American writer, that the latter begins to see the history of his own society entirely in the terms of European thought. While the books thus produced are usually interesting reading, the luminous explanations in which they abound, are often dangerously deceiving because they do not truly result from a complete and impartial study of South American facts.

The serious student will next attempt to form some idea as to the conditions imposed upon social development by the physical environment of South America. He will not deal with that continent as a unit, but will appreciate that the highlands of Colombia impose conditions of life essentially different from those obtaining in the vast river basin of the Amazon, the heart of the Tropics, or the arid heights of the Peruvian Mountains, or the narrow coast line belt of Chili, or the broad, level, and immensely fertile plains of Argentina. Nor will he forget that South America is the only continent in which the representatives of the white race live side by side, and in a political community with native Indians and imported Africans, and that in the regions north of the La Plata River these racial conditions must, in the nature of things, always continue to exercise a determining influence.

As the investigator is dealing with new societies, it is

indeed true that many of the problems which make the interest of North American history will receive fresh elucidation from scientific study in the south. The effect of free land and of frontier conditions upon social life may here be studied in new phases. All the results of a transplantation of European stock to new regions and the vast economic problems that arise with the gradual development and subjugation of these regions may here be traced. The effect of the presence of a permanently inferior population upon social life and institutions, as well as upon the character of the white *élite*, receives most abundant illustration in South American experience. But it will be dangerous on any of these points to approach South America with preconceived ideas. Situations differ so much from country to country, that while the problem will fire the curiosity and enthusiasm of the investigator, he ought to be sure not to reflect in his work solutions derived from the study of other parts of the world.

It is a common opinion that the political history of South America is most unprofitable and devoid of real interest, and, indeed, it must be confessed that a book like Akers' *History of South America*, with its monotonous succession of revolutions, battles, truces, dictatorships, and changes in constitutions, is rather dreary reading. The shifting kaleidoscope of revolutions soon becomes tiring when the historic process, decade after decade, seems to reveal no real, progressive development of social and political life. So many persons, after dipping into South American history for a while, turn away discouraged in the belief that the anarchical succession of revolutionary leaders exhausts South American historical experience, and that there is nothing valuable to learn from such a catalogue of adventitious and fortuitous events. This is, indeed, a great mistake. But, on the other hand, it is true that purely political history, dealing with the superficial-

ities of public action, is not by itself very profitable. Political development in South America has been hindered and beclouded by many factors that have not allowed the true needs and aspirations of the respective societies to come to their own.

We meet here in the first place the uncritical imitation of foreign institutions and political theory. At the time of the separation from Spain, the people of the colonies lacked practically all political experience and education. Government had resolved itself into administration by representatives of the mother country. There were no legislative bodies in any of the colonies. The only institutions which contained a germ of self-government were the *cabildos*, or town corporations. So, looking for guidance, the men who became the leaders of the South American revolution were inspired largely by the theories of Rousseau as embodied in the French Revolution. The early constitutions, therefore, placed emphasis entirely on the ideas of independence and democracy, making scarcely any effort to construct institutions and legal relations corresponding to the special situations and the varying degrees of advancement in which the peoples of South America then found themselves. The influence of French ideas was especially strong in the Caribbean countries, where, under the influence of Nariño, the entire French "Declaration of the Rights of Man" was embodied in the New Granada Constitution of 1812. But throughout, French theories exercised a profound influence upon South American thought and constitution-making during the first half century of independence.

The United States appeared to the South Americans as the elder sister, the country which had successfully solved the problem of republican government. The knowledge of its institutions came to them by way of Europe, especially through France. Of the actual conditions in the

United States, a rather shadowy conception prevailed; and its institutions were taken as the ultimate embodiment of reason tested by experience, as a solution of all political difficulties, and one which could be relied upon to lead South American states to greatness and true freedom. It is but natural that countries confronted by the problem of giving themselves a national political organization should look about and study the experience of others. But the acceptance of the North American model was usually uncritical and unaccompanied by a positive consideration of local needs and conditions. Thus the imitation of this model became in many ways a hindrance to the spontaneous development of South American life; and it, therefore, also introduced many elements that will prove puzzling to the investigator. Being a superficial adoption, it makes a cumulative contribution to that impression of superficiality which one so easily obtains from the study of South American political life.

Even in those countries where conditions were more favorable to the establishment of representative institutions, as in Argentina, the uncritical imitation of the federal form of government brought many evils in its train. The Argentinian leaders were tolerably free from purely theoretical considerations. The original act of independence of 1810 contains no enunciation of general principles nor declaration of rights, and carries within it only the germ of representative government in the invitation directed to the *cabildos* to have themselves represented in a national council. After Argentina had passed through three or four decades of anarchy and purely personal government, after the downfall of Rosas, actual constitution-making began. Alberdi, the most original thinker on politics whom South America has produced, had a positive view of the political relations, and, therefore, urged upon his contemporaries the necessity of adapting constitutional rules

to the actual conditions of the nation. His point of view is expressed in the following words:¹

"South American constitutional history has two periods. One covers the period of the wars of independence. In this the constitutions were originally adopted. Since then the same constitutions have been variously modified; either central power has been strengthened in behalf of order or weakened in behalf of liberty. The exercise of power has been centralized, at other times it has been localized, but never has constitutional law been looked at from the point of view of present necessities. The original constitutions emphasized liberty and equality as was natural when the countries separated from a monarchical state, but no attention was given to matters of progress in the action of economic interests. The model of the French Revolution affected us. This Revolution was weak on the economic side, as it did not recognize liberty of commerce. The Convention used the customs duties as an instrument of war. Napoleon followed with his continental blockade. The United States, too, early adopted a restrictive system. What is important for us in South America is to have free movement of population, immigration, free commerce, and a general guarantee of progressive reform. Political constitutions of to-day have the duty to organize practical means for leading emancipated America out of the obscure and inferior condition in which she finds herself. So, as before we placed in our constitutions independence, liberty, and religion, to-day we must place there free immigration, liberty of commerce, railways, free industry; not in place of those grand principles but as essential means to bring it about that they may cease to be words and become realities. To-day we must promote population and railways, the navigability of our rivers and the wealth of our states. We must elevate our population to the habit of a free government which necessity has imposed upon us. We must give them the aptitude which they lack for being republican, make them worthy of the republic which we have proclaimed and which to-day we can neither practice nor abandon. The Chilean Republic has found in the energy of the presidential power the public guaranty which monarchy offers for order and peace, with-

¹ In his *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización política de la República Argentina*.

out abandoning the nature of the republican government. Bolivar said: 'The new states of America need kings with the name of presidents.' A republic can have no other form when it exists immediately after a monarchy. The new régime must connect with the old. You cannot advance by leaps."

The Argentinian constitution of 1853 was influenced largely by this point of view. It contained the federal form of government copied from that of the United States, but with such modifications as adapted it to a country where national unity was clearly demanded, and where the provinces or states had not achieved a distinct existence as commonwealths as they had with us at the time of the formation of the Union. This constitution was unacceptable to the statesmen of Buenos Aires, and Sarmiento criticised it as not following closely enough the North American precedent. It was his opinion that:

"If our country constitutes itself under the federal system and if in its constitutional charter, it adopts to the letter that other constitution already settled and approved, the result will be that all the labor of that society, all its science and experience, will act, together with the constitution, to serve and support our own."

He, therefore, favored the adoption not only of the text of the constitution, but of the doctrines developed by North American statesmen and legal authorities. In opposition to this, the point of view of Alberdi was that constitutions "should not express the necessities of yesterday or of to-morrow, but those of to-day." And when the constitutional commission of 1860, which had reformed the constitution in the direction of further approximating it to that of the United States, argued deprecatively against originality in constitution-making, saying that "it would have been extravagant to depart from what is recognized and admitted in the nations most free and most civilized, and to pretend to produce an original work;" Alberdi an-

swered that "there could not have been a greater extravagance than to try to apply the constitutions of the most free and most civilized countries to a small and ill-prepared population."

"Originality in constitution making [he says] is the only kind to which we can aspire without immodesty or pretension. It does not consist in a newness, superior to all known perfection, but in an adaptability to the special case to which it is applied."

His judgment of the situation culminates in the sentence:

"In order to dissolve the unity of the Argentine Republic, it would be sufficient to apply strictly the United States constitution, treating as sovereign states those units which hitherto were provinces within a state."

As to the Constitution of 1860, the drafting commission in its report stated:

"Federalism is the only form of government possible in our republic in the present state of its civilization. As up to the present, the democratic government of the United States is the highest result of human logic; because its constitution is the only one which has been made by the people and for the people without having in view any alien interest, without compromising with any illegitimate fact; there would be as much presumption as ignorance in attempting to make innovations in constitutional law, ignoring the lessons of experience."

Similar expressions of a high admiration for the American government have been common down to the present. Vélez Varsfield, in comparing the Constitution of 1853 with the amended form which was adopted in 1860, says:

"The Argentinian legislators [1853] took the American Constitution as their model, but they did not respect this sacred text and an ignorant hand made in it suppressions and alterations of

great importance. The Commission [1860] has restored the constitutional law of the United States in the part in which it had been changed."

And yet a recent writer on Argentinian federalism ² pronounces the opinion that it has become

"an obstacle to that internal peace which at first it served. It has fomented provincial revolutions, political disagreements, and fratricidal struggles, destructive of every guarantee of liberty, of justice, and of personal security. All of which has resulted in the depopulation of the provinces and our discredit before Europe."

This judgment is perhaps exaggerated in its severity, but it admits of no doubt that many of the evils of Argentinian public life may be traced to this lack of correspondence between the institutions of the written law and the actual conditions and practices of political life. The federal constitution of the United States is the most complicated political system ever developed by man. It includes the three cardinal institutions of a popular electorate, representative government, and a federal union, in which, with a high centralization of national power, there goes respect for local legislative autonomy. The introduction of this system into a country which at the time had no training in self-government, which had seen only an intermittent practice of popular election, and in which the local units, while filled with a spirit of particularism and insubordination, lacked experience in commonwealth action, of necessity led to a grave contradiction between the theory and the practice of public life. And while publicists may believe that Argentinian public life will gradually grow up into its institutions so as to correspond more fully with them, the historian will find in the artificiality of accepted institutions one of his greatest difficulties.

² Rivarola, *Del régimen federativo al unitario*, Buenos Aires, 1908, p. 121.

A very striking account of political fictions in Argentina was given by ex-President Carlos Pellegrini in a discourse in the Chamber of Deputies on May 9, 1906. In discussing the demands of the political situation, he said:

"We have a nation independent, free, organic, and we live in peace; but we lack something essential: we are ignorant of the practices and habits of a free people and our written institutions are only a promise or a hope. . . . Our régime is neither representative, nor republican, nor federal. It is not representative because the vicious practices growing day by day have allowed the men in the government to constitute themselves as grand electors and to take the place of the people in its political and electoral rights. . . . It is not republican because the legislative bodies formed under this personal régime do not have the independence which the republican system demands. They are instruments handled by those who have created them. It is not federal because every day we witness the suppression of provincial autonomy."

He then refers to the selection of provincial governors by the political leaders in Buenos Aires. The overpowering need of unity in national affairs has led to extra-legal arrangements through which the action of the provinces can be controlled by the central government.

The federal states of Brazil, too, are an artificial creation of a constitution modeled upon that of the United States. There was indeed at the time of the foundation of the Brazilian Republic a great deal of separatist and localist feeling, but it was not organized politically in the form of self-governing commonwealths. The situation is thus described by Felisbello Freire:^{*}

"In the preliminary work which preceded the organization of the states to which the legal prescriptions of the decree apply, these were absolutely passive. The federal government was the

^{*} *Historia constitucional da Republica dos Estados Unidos do Brasil*, Vol. II., p. 36.

propelling force. Through the union they were organized. They did not organize themselves. The entire movement of the new political life into which they were entering flowed from the center towards the periphery. The federation was nothing but the political organization of the states. Until then they had lived as provinces without the least portion of autonomy."

It is not surprising that these artificial creations should give rise to uncertainties in constitutional practice. The North American states were living organisms: they had developed their field of legislative and administrative action when the national union was founded, and the division of powers between them and the central government therefore rested on a historic and practical basis. In Brazil, where no such traditions existed, the creation of states has led to constant conflicts of jurisdiction, which are accentuated by the fact that the federal supreme court does not have a complete power to adjudicate upon state constitutions. Nor have the states on their part respected municipal autonomy.

It must be noted that in those South American countries which have adopted the North American system, the significance of *federalism* is exactly the opposite of what it is in the United States. With us *federal* goes with *union*, and refers to a bond constantly growing stronger between commonwealths that have developed, and preserve, a certain individuality. In South America *federal* imports usually *separation* and local independence, because in all cases the point of departure was the unitary system of the colonial government, or, in Brazil, of the empire, under which the states or provinces now existing were merely administrative circumscriptions. The adoption of the federal system, therefore, has usually meant a tendency toward the growth of local independence and in some cases of anarchy, rather than the strengthening of national unity. It must also be remembered that most of these adoptions

fall in the time when the states' rights theory was still strong with us, and before national unity had been incontestably established through the Civil War. In Central America, indeed, federalism led directly to separation, and in other regions separation and anarchy were prevented only by resort to personal government, often of a despotic character. The effects of the system are thus portrayed by a Colombian writer: *

"We need only rapidly run through the history of the short period between 1863 and 1885 to see how there existed in Colombian institutions, and, as a consequence, in its political customs, an accumulation of the elements of disorganization, arbitrary rule, and anarchy, which rendered all good government impossible. Anarchy existed in the ideas, in character, and in political action, as well as in the institutions; and society maintained itself solely by force of its natural and historic elements of cohesion. The contradiction between social facts on the one hand and constitutions and laws on the other was notorious; [a contradiction] between the union and solidarity of the interests of the people, and the division and breaking up which necessarily resulted from the federal disorder, the sovereignty of the states, and the absolute theory of individual rights."

Conditions such as these did not result solely from the imitation of the American constitution and of our political experience, but from a failure to apply that experience with discrimination to the special conditions of South American societies. And while the American will naturally be proud of the influence which the institutions of his country have exercised in the southern republics, the historical investigator will find the difficulty of his problem increased by the complexity and artificiality thus introduced into South American public life.

This artificiality of political institutions in itself accounts to some extent, as has already been suggested, for the

* José María Samper, *Derecho Publico Interno de Colombia*, Bogotá, 1886, Vol. I., p. 296.

chronic unrest to which many South American states have been subject, and for the numerous revolutions by which nearly all of them have been visited. Where written constitutions plainly do not correspond with the facts and needs of national life, legal authority is weakened and a constant uncertainty exists inviting appeals to force. The serious student of history, of course, will not be satisfied with any superficial study of these phenomena, nor will he ascribe them entirely to racial characteristics, as do many South American writers who have unfortunately fallen into the error of trying to explain these complex situations with reference to some national psychological trait or racial characteristic.

It is further vitally important that we should note the cardinal difference which separates the original revolutionary movement in South America from that of the United States. The thirteen colonies revolted because they had grown strong, because they had developed a self-sustaining life that made them desire independence. The Spanish colonies moved for separation because the home government was weak and disorganized by the French invasion. What was at first only a movement for supplying the absence of direction from the *metropole* grew by degrees into an actual and definitive separation from Spain. But there was lacking in the Spanish colonies that complete political organization including all the functions of government and communal action which was found in the north. Moreover, the wars of independence were nearly always civil wars, in the sense that, within the colonies themselves, parties differed as to the wisdom of separation from the mother country. From the United States the loyalists were expelled, leaving behind them a unified people agreed on the fundamental question of independence. In South America, on the contrary, the struggle frequently ended in a drawn battle in which neither party carried off a

decisive victory, with the result that there did not come a definite and complete break with the political system of the past. Separation, indeed, was achieved, but true independence and self-government were not simultaneously established from within. There was no thorough change in the conception of government and in administrative methods. To the mass of the population government still remained something imposed from without or above, the power to tax, to grant privileges, and thus to enable its incumbents to practice all manner of exploitation. The commonwealth idea did not engraft itself with the revolution because its coming had not been prepared for during the colonial era.

Another factor of the highest importance which distinguishes the historical development of South America from our own and adds elements which have a tendency to shroud and conceal the real movements of national evolution, lies in the disproportionate importance of city life. The colonial cities, the centers of activity from which strong influences went out over the surrounding country and into which wealth was gathered, retained their predominant position under the new régime. Thus it came about that in these new countries, rural or frontier conditions never came to exercise that importance which they have held in our own national history. It was really Buenos Aires, Lima, Santiago, and Bogota that determined the ideas and the temper of South American civilization, rather than the country regions. In this manner European ideas continued to control, and the civilization of South America was dominated primarily by the feeling and standards of city existence. The back country, from having been the colony of Spain, became the colony of Buenos Aires, of Santiago, of Lima. Argentinian national history, in fact, plays almost entirely about the struggle of the metropolis to make permanent her ascendancy.

Alberdi was a believer in the rude but regenerative forces of the life in country regions. He resisted the pretensions of Buenos Aires to the dominant position in all Argentinian affairs. In 1860 he wrote:⁵

"Buenos Aires revolted against Spain, not in behalf of the other Argentinian provinces but for the profit of its own province, which erected itself into a colonial mother country over its sisters. The provinces have ceased to be colonies of Spain in order to remain colonies of Buenos Aires. They are governed by the metropolis and produce for her, not for themselves. Their condition has become worse than under the Spanish domination. They have remained entirely alien to their own government, because lacking a national authority emanating from their own election, their sovereign powers have been exercised by the local power of Buenos Aires without the nation taking any part. The province of Buenos Aires has negotiated for them with the world, and has placed them in peace or in war according to its convenience. Under the government of Spain, the revenue produced in the provinces was applied in their own service, Spain taking merely the excess. Under the domination of Buenos Aires, the customs contributions have remained entirely in the hands of the local metropolis which collects them in its ports, and they have been applied exclusively in its service. The port has remained the only one in all the provinces, in conformity with the old Laws of the Indies. The Argentinians have become tributaries of Buenos Aires."

Dr. Carlos Pellegrini, in an address, August 25, 1897, spoke of this matter in the following language:

"Buenos Aires, the city of the viceroys, governed the colony for centuries, during which time it became her habit to command. With the revolution, the colony became a nation and Buenos Aires, following this custom of centuries, wished to continue governing and directing, notwithstanding the resistance of the people of the interior. These two forces and tendencies have, under different names and through thousands of instances of varied aspects, formed the woof of our entire political history."

⁵ Alberdi, *Escritos postumos*, Vol. XII., p. 326.

The men of Buenos Aires looked upon the interior as arrested in its development and given over to barbarian practices and impulses. Sarmiento in his *Facundo* developed this theory in this manner:

"Many philosophers have believed that plains prepare the road for despotism. This extension of plains gives to life in the interior a pronounced Asiatic color. . . . From the conditions of pastoral life grave difficulties arise for any political organization and much greater for the triumph of European civilization, its institutions, and the wealth and liberty which are their consequence. In this society cultivation of the spirit is useless and impossible, municipal affairs do not exist, the common weal is a word without meaning. . . . In the Argentinian Republic we see at the same time two distinct civilizations; the twelfth and the nineteenth centuries living together, one in the cities, the other in the country regions."

Alberdi combats the idea of localizing civilization in the cities and barbarism in the country, and censures such a view as a source of anarchy and of artificial antipathy between localities which mutually need and complement each other. He considers it perfectly natural that the country regions should be less cultured than the cities. But he does not recognize the existence of barbarizing influences in the frontier districts. On the contrary, he has confidence in the worth of the simple and primitive country folk, and considers it an insult to Argentinian nationality that a character like Facundo Quiroga should have been selected as a personification of rural ideals—"the greatest insult which could be offered to this country, honest and good, which has the misfortune of attempting the creation of the republic while having only the most imperfect elements therefor." He sees in *caudillaje* or political bossism, a natural result of primitive conditions and of the colonial past which it is the purpose of natural development to overcome, but not by setting the city over against the country.

The fact to which we have here referred, the preponderance of city ideas in South America, may also account for the absence of that feeling of freshness and energy, in a word, of youth, which is characteristic of North American democracy. In a sense the South American societies were born old. The dominance of European ideas in their intellectual life, the importance of the city as a seat of civilization, never allowed the pioneer feeling to gain the importance which it has held and still holds in our life. It is, of course, not entirely absent, and many traces of it will be encountered in South American literature, but it is not an original all-pervading force.

The South American country in which history has been most normal and logical is Chili. In the hundred years of its independence it has indeed seen a few revolutions; such movements, however, were not mere personal struggles for a temporary ascendancy, since the main motive in them was an attempt to settle some question of public policy or of constitutional principle. Chilean society is governed by a closely-organized aristocracy, based upon the natural fact of social differences between it and the body of the people. Its leaders, in the early course of national history, established firmly that respect for authority, that rule of law and order which has always characterized the republic. It is a political society which discusses and works out its problems; having achieved the solution of some difficulty, it retains the advantages of any sacrifices that may have been made, and moves on to new developments and higher positions. Chilean history, therefore, has something of the logical unfolding that makes the evolution of English nationality so fascinating a study. This society has a great deal of political consciousness and self-confidence. Though composed of varied racial elements, in which, of course, the Spanish is the main stock, it has a strong assimilating power, and it has succeeded in evolving a very

distinct type of Chilean nationality. As a development of the historical sense always accompanies the growth of national feeling, it is not surprising that we should encounter in Chili more interest in historical studies, more sentiment for historical facts than in other South American countries. The most substantial, if not the most brilliant, South American historian, Barros Arana, as well as the greatest bibliographer and collector of materials, José T. Medina, are Chileans. The list of Chilean historians is long, and while there are many among them who view national history from the position of their own interests and political party, yet it may be said, on the whole, that Chilean history is comparatively free from these influences and is, or at least attempts to be, truly national and scientific.

From what has been said above, it will be apparent how easy it is to get a superficial view of South American history. Any presentation which confines itself to the changing aspects of political ascendancy, to the shifting modification of legal forms and institutions, or to political actions and ideals as seen from the point of view of the various *metropoles*, must necessarily lack depths and contact with the realities of social development. Considered by themselves these changes are an unmeaning procession of events; and so, in fact, they have thus far generally been presented. But when once they are seen in their relation to the deeper forces of social and economic life, these apparently uninteresting facts immediately gain in importance and significance. Of course, the study of South American political theory is, in and of itself, an interesting matter when rightly undertaken, as is also that of the city as a center of civilization and political influence. But a presentation of the complete historical development of these nations requires a more comprehensive and deeper

grasp of social and economic facts which underlie political action. Their politics considered by itself seems to be anarchical or composed of extra-legal arrangements, such as executive interference in elections and local government, or the power of political bosses, *caciques*, *caudillos*, or *gamonales*, and of political clubs, arrogating to themselves public authority, such as the "Democratic Societies" of Colombia. Between the formal theory of the institutions and the sordid facts of political action, the investigator is apt to lose his interest unless he studies more fundamental relations. Dr. Freire, in the preface to his *Historia territorial do Brazil*, expresses himself as follows:

"Without the study of the interests, economic, political, or religious, which accomplished the conquest along the seacoast and then in the interior, opening roads for peopling the country and then forming centers of population here and there; without the study of the origin of the political and administrative units into which the country gradually divided itself in consequence of this peopling which, passing through successive phases, finally took form as organized political and administrative life; without a study of all these facts which formed part of the basic process of development, the history of Brazil would be nothing but a congeries of facts without logic, without harmony, without causality." *

Echevarria in his *Plan Economico*, and Alberdi in his *Estudios Economicos*, both held that it would be futile to treat of the development of Argentinian nationality without a previous careful study of the initial steps in economic life. And later Argentinian writers like Juan A. Garcia and José Ingenieros have emphasized the importance of social and economic factors.

Humanity is always interesting; in its steady development and in unusual situations. It is in the latter that

* See also an article by José Oiticica in the *Revista Americana*, Rio de Janeiro, April and May, 1910.

South American history abounds. The conquest and colonization of a continent largely tropical by the European race; the meeting with the aborigines, and with the negroes brought from Africa; the intermingling of races, as well as the fusion of their ideas, customs, and institutions; in view of all this it seems that the interaction of physical, moral, and intellectual forces is nowhere illustrated in a greater variety of aspects than in South America. Nowhere in the world has there been such a wealth of elements in such multiform relationships and mixtures of races and folklores. The Christianized Indian superadds to his inherited customs rude forms of European beliefs and practices, as is so well depicted for us in books like Juan A. Garcia's *Ciudad Indiana*. The negro imported from Africa into the tropical world of South America, bringing with him the complex folklore of his native land, though enslaved, soon felt himself at home among his new surroundings. Then there is the *gaucho*, or, as this type is called in other countries, the *huaso* or *lacero*, the descendant of the poorer white settlers, usually with a strong admixture of Indian blood. This backwoodsman of South America has not achieved the national and estimable position of our frontiersman. The whole point of view in South America was so different; these people were never looked upon as the vanguards of civilization, but rather as its most backward sons, obliged by an unkind fate to dwell in uncultured regions far away from the hearths of civilization. To some extent, indeed, the poetry of the life of these battlers with crude nature has been realized and the *sabor criollo*, the creole zest, has had its poets and historians. But these picturesque types are rapidly disappearing, giving way to more humdrum forms of existence. Transformations wrought in the white race itself through settlement in tropical and subtropical regions may here also be studied—the effects of climate

on race, and of natural conditions on institutions and ideas brought from different regions of the world.

The genital absence of political cohesion and harmony, during the first half century of independence, was due very largely to the lack of a definite economic organization. Under the colonial régime the economic policy had been one of undisguised and unmitigated exploitation.⁷ Men came not to build themselves homes and to till the soil with their own hands, but to gain wealth rapidly and through the labor of others. The natives were reduced to the level of slavery, and when they were exhausted or their numbers proved insufficient, blacks were imported from Africa. Extensive and exhaustive modes of cultivation were employed without any thought that nature too needs to replenish her forces. The chief governmental action with respect to economic life was to grant exclusive privileges and monopolies. Industries were present only in a rudimentary form, and all economic life had the instability inseparable from that feverish hunt for fortunes which would exhaust one field of exploitation in order to turn elsewhere for greater gains. When the movement for independence came there was not in existence a stable, self-sustaining economic order upon which government could be based. Government, indeed, continued to be looked upon chiefly as the imposer of financial burdens upon the many and the source of privileges and gain to those in power. Thus the vices of economic life were directly translated to the political field and stood for a long time in the way of the up-building of suitable and responsible national government.

This lack of economic stability inevitably led to a permanent financial dependence upon Europe. It was, of course, natural that efforts should be made to supply the

⁷ M. Bomfim in his book *America Latina*, Rio de Janeiro, 1905, calls the colonial society of South America "parasitic."

needs which existed in a new country for capital by inviting European enterprise. Unusual advantages and privileges were granted in order to attract it, and for decades national economic life in these countries came entirely under the tutelage and control of European financiers. While this resulted in the introduction of elements and influences favorable to law and order, it manifestly stood in the way of developing the feeling of complete national independence and responsibility. A fact which will soon arrest the attention of the historical investigator is the influence which the belief in the inexhaustible natural resources had upon the political and economic life in some of these countries. The effect seems to have been not so much to stimulate enterprise but to induce over-confidence in the economic capabilities of the country, leading men to plunge into debt and in every way to discount the future.

All through South American history, from the earliest missionary efforts of the *padres* to the discussions of our day as to the proper relation of Church and State, religion, with all its observances and institutions, has been a main element in South American social history. But, only this year has an attempt been made to study comprehensively this development in all its extension.⁸

The close relationship of South America with Europe and its dependence upon the older continent affected especially its intellectual life. This contact gave to literary forms an expression of notable finish; nor did Latin-American litterateurs allow any movement of thought to pass in Europe without giving it full attention. Accordingly, there has been far more of literary criticism here than in the north, and it is far better informed as to the various phases of European thought and artistic life. But generally speaking, there is a lack of originality. Individual writers may indeed see life and experience from a

⁸ Quesada, V. G., *Derecho de patronato*, Buenos Aires, 1920.

